

I said, "Yes. I have ten pounds on the handlebars of my bicycle."

Thereupon, he waved me through the barrier, and said, "Hope you have a good time."

There was a good deal of inter-marriage, interchanging of ideas and friendship between the nations of Europe then. Yet in the last fifty years that has all gone. It is a very sad thing about Europe, that that spirit has gone. It has become so nationalistic.

And yet we know there is the very great, one of the larger European nations -- Poland. It is right that they should continue to have their complete independence, and integrity, and the right spirit, because the spirit counts more than almost anything else.

And so the Prime Minister and I have been talking today -- and talk again tomorrow -- something about the spirit of the future of Europe, getting away from the mere questions of whether this town will be on this side of the line or that side of the line. There is a bigger thing than that -- and I am sure the Prime Minister agrees with me -- it is not just a question of class or of land ownership, it is a question of the population of Poland.

The Prime Minister has always worked, all his life, for the health of the people at the "bottom of the heap." There is a great deal to do for them, still more in the future than in the past. And yet we in this country recognize the value of the Polish population, the thing that goes back to hundreds of years,

the integrity of it, the good citizenship of it, the fact that they are not Poles in this country any more, they are Americans -- Americans of Polish descent. That is why they are so very welcome when they come over here -- to become Americans.

So I want to say again how very happy we are that the Prime Minister has come over here, and I hope he will come back, or that we will go over there and meet with the other members of his government in London; and to meet the President of Poland, whom I have never had the pleasure of close acquaintanceship yet, but who, as head of the nation, still does represent a link which has been so welcome in America.

We are glad to have the Prime Minister with us, and I want to drink -- we are all very happy to drink -- to the health of the President of Poland, and through him the Prime Minister.

(the Toast was drunk)

The REPLY Of The Prime Minister Of Poland
Stanislaw Mikolajczyk
Delivered In English

Mr. President, Mesdames and Gentlemen: I am very grateful for the invitation. This is one of my happiest days, to meet nowadays the President of the United States, in those days which are so busy for him when the great events in Europe are happening.

I am very sorry for my English, it is not sufficient to express all my feelings. But if I may say, in 1941 when I met the American citizens of Polish descent, and I saw how happy they are here, how free they are here, I think when you are jealous it is the best thing. I was a little jealous why my people and my country cannot be so happy, and so free.

And today, when I have the honor to speak in the name of the Polish President and the Polish nation, when I have the honor to bring one of our friends who just six weeks ago was still in the underground of Poland fighting, and who in a few days will be back there, I have only one desire, the desire that our people, after this terrible war, can be as happy as are the American citizens under the presidency of your great President, Mr. Roosevelt, this President who through Providence is leading not only his own nation but in whose hands is also the future of the free, real and happy men of the future in every country. And I wish only one thing, that my people could be as happy

as are the citizens of the United States.

From our side I can promise one thing, we Poles even when somebody says sometimes many things, we Poles feel it is our duty to fight, to work to do everything that is possible to win the war, because we feel if we do our duty, so certainly the great ideas your President says to the nation will be also fulfilled to our nation.

So to you, Mr. President, I drink your health.

(the Toast was drunk)

A D D R E S S
OF THE
P R E S I D E N T
TO THE
COAL MINERS
M A Y 2, 1943, AT 10.00 P.M., E.W.T.
NATIONALLY BROADCAST

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My Fellow Americans:

I am speaking tonight to the American people, and in particular to those of our citizens who are coal miners.

Tonight this country faces a serious crisis. We are engaged in a war on the successful outcome of which will depend the whole future of our country.

This war has reached a new critical phase. After the years that we have spent in preparation, we have moved into active and continuing battle with our enemies. We are pouring into the world-wide conflict everything that we have -- our young men, and the vast resources of our nation.

I have just returned from a two weeks' tour of inspection on which I saw our men being trained and our war materials made. My trip took me through twenty States. I saw thousands of workers on the production line, making airplanes, and guns and ammunition.

Everywhere I found great eagerness to get on with the war. Men and women are working long hours at difficult jobs and living under difficult conditions without complaint.

Along thousands of miles of track I saw countless acres of newly ploughed fields. The farmers of this country

are planting the crops that are needed to feed our armed forces, our civilian population and our Allies. Those crops will be harvested.

On my trip, I saw hundreds of thousands of soldiers. Young men who were green recruits last autumn have matured into self-assured and hardened fighting men. They are in splendid physical condition. They are mastering the superior weapons that we are pouring out of our factories.

The American people have accomplished a miracle.

However, all of our massed effort is none too great to meet the demands of this war. We shall need everything that we have and everything that our Allies have -- to defeat the Nazis and the Fascists in the coming battles on the Continent of Europe, and the Japanese on the Continent of Asia and in the Islands of the Pacific.

This tremendous forward movement of the United States and the United Nations cannot be stopped by our enemies.

And equally, it must not be hampered by any one individual or by the leaders of any one group here back home.

I want to make it clear that every American coal miner who has stopped mining coal -- no matter how sincere his motives, no matter how legitimate he may believe his grievances to be -- every idle miner directly and individually is obstructing our war effort. We have not yet won this war. We will win this war only as we produce and deliver our total American effort on the high seas and on the battle fronts. And that requires unrelenting, uninterrupted effort here on the

home front.

A stopping of the coal supply, even for a short time, would involve a gamble with the lives of American soldiers and sailors and the future security of our whole people. It would involve an unwarranted, unnecessary and terribly dangerous gamble with our chances for victory.

Therefore, I say to all miners -- and to all Americans everywhere, at home and abroad -- the production of coal will not be stopped.

Tonight, I am speaking to the essential patriotism of the miners, and to the patriotism of their wives and children. And I am going to state the true facts of this case as simply and as plainly as I know how.

After the attack at Pearl Harbor, the three great labor organizations -- the American Federation of Labor, the Congress of Industrial Organizations, and the Railroad Brotherhoods -- gave the positive assurance that there would be no strikes as long as the war lasted. And the President of the United Mine Workers of America was a party to that assurance.

That pledge was applauded throughout the country. It was a forcible means of telling the world that we Americans -- 135,000,000 of us -- are united in our determination to fight this total war with our total will and our total power.

At the request of employers and of organized labor -- including the United Mine Workers -- the War Labor Board was set up for settling any disputes which could not be adjusted through collective bargaining. The War Labor Board is

a tribunal on which workers, employers and the general public are equally represented.

In the present coal crisis, conciliation and mediation were tried unsuccessfully.

In accordance with the law, the case was then certified to the War Labor Board, the agency created for this express purpose with the approval of organized labor. The members of the Board followed the usual practice which has proved successful in other disputes. Acting promptly, they undertook to get all the facts of this (the) case from both the miners and the operators.

The national officers of the United Mine Workers, however, declined to have anything to do with the fact finding of the War Labor Board. The only excuse that they offer is that the War Labor Board is prejudiced.

The War Labor Board has been and is ready to give this (the) case a fair and impartial hearing. And I have given my assurance that if any adjustment of wages is made by the Board, it will be made retroactive to April first. But the national officers of the United Mine Workers refused to participate in the hearing, when asked to do so last Monday.

On Wednesday of this past week, while the Board was proceeding with the case, stoppages began to occur in some mines. On Thursday morning I telegraphed to the officers of the United Mine Workers asking that the miners continue mining coal on Saturday morning. However, a general strike throughout the industry became effective on Friday night.

The responsibility for the crisis that we now face rests squarely on these national officers of the United Mine Workers, and not on the Government of the United States. But the consequences of this arbitrary action threaten all of us everywhere.

At ten o'clock, yesterday morning -- Saturday -- the Government took over the mines. I called upon the miners to return to work for their Government. The Government needs their services just as surely as it needs the services of our soldiers, and sailors, and marines -- and the services of the millions who are turning out the munitions of war.

You miners have sons in the Army and Navy and Marine Corps. You have sons who at this very minute -- this split second -- may be fighting in New Guinea, or in the Aleutian Islands, or Guadalcanal, or Tunisia, or China, or protecting troop ships and supplies against submarines on the high seas. We have already received telegrams from some of our fighting men overseas, and I only wish they could tell you what they think of the stoppage of work in the coal mines.

Some of your own sons have come back from the fighting fronts, wounded. A number of them, for example, are now here in an Army hospital in Washington. Several of them have been decorated by their Government.

I could tell you of one from Pennsylvania. He was a coal miner before his induction, and his father is a coal miner. He was seriously wounded by Nazi machine gun bullets while he was on a bombing mission over Europe in a Flying

Fortress.

Another boy, from Kentucky, the son of a coal miner, was wounded when our troops first landed in North Africa six months ago.

There is (still) another, from Illinois. He was a coal miner -- his father and two brothers are coal miners. He was seriously wounded in Tunisia while attempting to rescue two comrades whose jeep had been blown up by a Nazi mine.

These men do not consider themselves heroes. They would probably be embarrassed if I mentioned their names over the air. They were wounded in the line of duty. They know how essential it is to the tens of thousands -- hundreds of thousands -- and ultimately millions of other young Americans to get the best of arms and equipment into the hands of our fighting forces -- and get them there quickly.

The fathers and mothers of our fighting men, their brothers and sisters and friends -- and that includes all of us -- are also in the line of duty -- the production line. Any failure in production may well result in costly defeat on the field of battle.

There can be no one among us -- no one faction -- powerful enough to interrupt the forward march of our people to victory.

You miners have ample reason to know that there are certain basic rights for which this country stands, and that those rights are worth fighting for and worth dying for. That is why you have sent your sons and brothers from every mining

town in the nation to join in the great struggle overseas. That is why you have contributed so generously, so willingly, to the purchase of war bonds and to the many funds for the relief of war victims in foreign lands. That is why, since this war was started in 1939, you have increased the annual production of coal by almost two hundred million tons a year.

The toughness of your sons in our armed forces is not surprising. They come of fine, rugged stock. Men who work in the mines are not unaccustomed to hardship. It has been the objective of this Government to reduce that hardship, to obtain for miners and for all who do the nation's work a better standard of living.

I know only too well that the cost of living is troubling the miners' families, and troubling the families of millions of other workers throughout the country as well.

A year ago it became evident to all of us that something had to be done about living costs. Your Government determined not to let the cost of living continue to go up as it did in the first World War.

Your Government has been determined to maintain stability of both prices and wages -- so that a dollar would buy, so far as possible, the same amount of the necessities of life. And by necessities I mean just that -- not the luxuries, not the (and) fancy goods that we have learned to do without in war time.

So far, we have not been able to keep the prices

of some necessities as low as we should have liked to keep them. That is true not only in coal towns but in many other places.

Wherever we find that prices of essentials have risen too high, they will be brought down. Wherever we find that price ceilings are being violated, the violators will be punished.

Rents have been fixed in most parts of the country. In many cities they have been cut to below where they were before we entered the war. Clothing prices have generally remained stable.

These two items make up more than a third of the total budget of the worker's family.

As for food, which today accounts for about another (a) third of the family expenditure on the average, I want to repeat again: your Government will continue to take all necessary measures to eliminate unjustified and avoidable price increases. And we are today (now) taking measures to "roll back" the prices of meats.

The war is going to go on. Coal will be mined no matter what any individual thinks about it. The operation of our factories, our power plants, our railroads will not be stopped. Our munitions must move to our troops.

And so, under these circumstances, it is inconceivable that any patriotic miner can choose any course other than going back to work and mining coal.

The nation cannot afford violence of any kind at

the coal mines or in coal towns. I have placed authority for the resumption of coal mining in the hands of a civilian, the Secretary of the Interior. If it becomes necessary to protect any miner who seeks patriotically to go back and work, then that miner must have and his family must have -- and will have -- complete and adequate protection. If it becomes necessary to have troops at the mine mouths or in coal towns for the protection of working miners and their families, those troops will be doing police duty for the sake of the nation as a whole, and particularly for the sake of the fighting men in the Army, the Navy and the Marines -- your sons and mine -- who are fighting our common enemies all over the world.

I understand the devotion of the coal miners to their union. I know of the sacrifices they have made to build it up. I believe now, as I have all my life, in the right of workers to join unions and to protect their unions. I want to make it absolutely clear that this Government is not going to do anything now to weaken those rights in the coal fields.

Every improvement in the conditions of the coal miners of this country has had my hearty support, and I do not mean to desert them now. But I also do not mean to desert my obligations and responsibilities as President of the United States and Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy.

The first necessity is the resumption of coal mining. The terms of the old contract will be followed by the Secretary of the Interior. If an adjustment in wages results from a decision of the War Labor Board, or from any new agreement

between the operators and miners, which is approved by the War Labor Board, that adjustment will be made retroactive to April first.

In the message that I delivered to the Congress four months ago, I expressed my conviction that the spirit of this nation is good.

Since then, I have seen our troops in the Caribbean area, in bases on the coasts of our Ally, Brazil, and in North Africa. Recently I have again seen great numbers of our fellow countrymen -- soldiers and civilians -- from the Atlantic Seaboard to the Mexican border and to the Rocky Mountains.

Tonight, in the fact of a crisis of serious proportions in the coal industry, I say again that the spirit of this nation is good. I know that the American people will not tolerate any threat offered to their Government by anyone. I believe the coal miners will not continue the strike against their (the) Government. I believe that the coal miners (themselves) as Americans will not fail to heed the clear call to duty. Like all other good Americans, they will march shoulder to shoulder with their armed forces to victory.

Tomorrow the Stars and Stripes will fly over the coal mines, and I hope that every miner will be at work under that flag.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT

In Connection With The Opening Of

The Fifth War Loan Drive

June 12, 1944, at 10.45 P.M., E.W.T.

Radio Broadcast

Ladies and gentlemen:

All our fighting men overseas today have their appointed stations on the far-flung battlefronts of the world. We at home have ours too. We need, we (and) are proud of, our fighting men -- most decidedly. But, during the anxious times ahead, let us not forget that they need us too.

It goes almost without saying that we must continue to forge the weapons of victory -- the hundreds of thousands of items, large and small, essential to the waging of the war. This has been the major task from the very start, and it is still a major task. This is the very worst time for any war worker to think of leaving his machine or to look for a peacetime job.

And it goes almost without saying, too, that we must continue to provide our Government with the funds necessary for waging war not only by the payment of taxes -- which, after all, is an obligation of American citizenship -- but also by the purchase of War Bonds -- an act of free choice which every citizen has to make for himself under the guidance of his own conscience.

Whatever else any of us may be doing, the purchase of War Bonds and stamps is something all of us can do and should do to help win the war.

I am happy to report tonight that it is something which -- something nearly everyone seems to be doing. Although there are now approximately sixty-seven million persons who have or earn some form of income (including the armed forces), eighty-one million persons or their children have already bought war bonds. They have bought more than six hundred million individual bonds. Their purchases have totaled more than thirty-two billion dollars. These are the purchases of individual men, women and children. Anyone who would have said this was possible a few years ago would have been put down as a starry-eyed visionary. But of such visions (however) is the stuff of America (fashioned).

Of course, there are always pessimists with us everywhere, a few here and a few there. I am reminded of the fact that after the fall of France in 1940 I asked the Congress for the money for the production by the United States of fifty thousand airplanes per year. Well, I was called crazy -- it was said that the figure was fantastic; that it could not be done. And yet today we are building airplanes at the rate of one hundred thousand a year.

There is a direct connection between the bonds you have bought and the stream of men and equipment now rushing over the English Channel for the liberation of Europe. There is a direct connection between your (War) Bonds and every part of this global war today.

Tonight, therefore, on the opening of this Fifth War Loan Drive, it is appropriate for us to take a broad

look at this panorama of world war, for the success or the failure of the drive is going to have so much to do with the speed with which we can accomplish victory and the peace.

While I know that the chief interest tonight is centered on the English Channel and on the beaches and farms and the cities of Normandy, we should not lose sight of the fact that our armed forces are engaged on other battlefronts all over the world, and that no one front can be considered alone without its proper relation to all.

It is worth while, therefore, to make over-all comparisons with the past. Let us compare today with just two years ago -- June, 1942. At that time Germany was in control of practically all of Europe, and was steadily driving the Russians back toward the Ural Mountains. Germany was practically in control of North Africa and the Mediterranean, and was beating at the gates of the Suez Canal and the route to India. Italy was still an important military and supply factor -- as subsequent, long campaigns have proved.

Japan was in control of the western Aleutian Islands; and in the South Pacific was knocking at the gates of Australia and New Zealand -- and also was threatening India. Japan (she) had seized control of most (nearly one half) of the Central Pacific.

American armed forces on land and sea and in the air were still very definitely on the defensive, and in the building-up stage. Our Allies were bearing the heat and the brunt of the attack.

In 1942 Washington heaved a sigh of relief that the first War Bond issue had been cheerfully over-subscribed by the American people. Way back in those days, two years ago, America was still hearing from many "amateur strategists" and political critics, some of whom were doing more good for Hitler than for the United States -- two years ago.

But today we are on the offensive all over the world -- bringing the attack to our enemies.

In the Pacific, by relentless submarine and naval attacks, and amphibious thrusts, and ever-mounting air attacks, we have deprived the Japs of the power to check the momentum of our ever-growing and ever-advancing military forces. We have reduced the Japs' (their) shipping by more than three million tons. We have overcome their original advantage in the air. We have cut off from a return to the homeland, cut off from that return, tens of thousands of beleaguered Japanese troops who now face starvation or ultimate surrender. And we have cut down their naval strength, so that for many months they have avoided all risk of encounter with our naval forces.

True, we still have a long way to go to Tokyo. But, carrying out our original strategy of eliminating our European enemy first and then turning all our strength to the Pacific, we can force the Japanese to unconditional surrender or to national suicide much more rapidly than has been thought possible.

Turning now to our enemy who is first on the list for destruction -- Germany has her back against the wall --

in fact three walls at once!

In (On) the south -- we have broken the German hold on central Italy. On June fourth, the city of Rome fell to the Allied armies. And allowing the enemy no respite, the Allies are now pressing hard on the heels of the Germans as they retreat northwards in ever-growing confusion.

On the east -- our gallant Soviet Allies have driven the enemy back from the lands which were invaded three years ago. The great Soviet armies are now initiating crushing blows.

Overhead -- vast Allied air fleets of bombers and fighters have been waging a bitter air war over Germany and Western Europe. They have had two major objectives: to destroy German war industries which maintain the German armies and air forces; and to shoot the German Luftwaffe out of the air. As a result German production has been whittled down continuously, and the German fighter forces now have (has) only a fraction of their (its) former power.

This great air campaign, strategic and tactical, is going to (will) continue -- with increasing power.

And on the west -- the hammer blow which struck the coast of France last Tuesday morning, less than a week ago, was the culmination of many months of careful planning and strenuous preparation.

Millions of tons of weapons and supplies, (and) hundreds of thousands of men assembled in England, are now being poured into the great battle in Europe.

I think that from the standpoint of our enemy we have achieved the impossible. We have broken through their supposedly impregnable wall in Northern France. But the assault has been costly in men and costly in materials. Some of our landings were desperate adventures; but from advices received so far, the losses were lower than our commanders had estimated would occur. We have established a firm foothold. We (and) are now prepared to meet the inevitable counter-attacks of the Germans -- with power and with confidence. And we all pray that we will have far more, soon, than a firm foothold.

Americans have all worked together to make this day possible.

The liberation forces now streaming across the Channel, and up the beaches and through the fields and the forests (down the highways) of France are using thousands and thousands of planes and ships and tanks and heavy guns. They are carrying with them many thousands of items needed for their dangerous, stupendous undertaking. There is a shortage of nothing -- nothing: And this must continue.

What has been done in the United States since those days of 1940 -- when France fell -- in raising and equipping and transporting our fighting forces, and in producing weapons and supplies for war, has been nothing short of a miracle. It was largely due to American teamwork -- teamwork among capital and labor and agriculture, between the armed forces and the civilian economy -- indeed among all of them.

And every one -- every man or woman or child -- who bought a War Bond helped -- and helped mightily!

There are still many people in the United States who have not bought War Bonds, or who have not bought as many as they can afford. Everyone knows for himself whether he falls into that category or not. In some cases his neighbors know too (also). To the consciences of those people, this appeal by the President of the United States is very much in order.

For all of the things which we use in this war, everything we send to our fighting Allies, costs money -- a lot of money. One sure way every man, woman and child can keep faith with those who have given, and are giving, their lives, is to provide the money which is needed to win the final victory.

I urge all Americans to buy War Bonds without stint. Swell the mighty chorus to bring us nearer to victory!

ADDRESS
OF THE
PRESIDENT
BEFORE THE DELEGATES OF THE
UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE ON FOOD AND AGRICULTURE
BROADCAST NATIONALLY
FROM THE EAST ROOM IN THE WHITE HOUSE
JUNE 7, 1943, AT 5.15 P.M., E.W.T.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

It gives me great pleasure to welcome to the White House you who have served so splendidly at the epoch-making United Nations Conference on Food and Agriculture.

I use that word "epoch-making" advisedly. The Conference could not have failed to be significant, because it was the first United Nations Conference; but it has succeeded even beyond our hopes. It is truly epoch-making because, in reaching unanimity upon complex and difficult problems, you have demonstrated beyond question that the United Nations really are united -- not only for the prosecution of the war, but for the solution of the many and difficult problems of peace. This Conference has been a living demonstration of the methods by which the conversations of nations -- nations of like mind, contemplated by Article VII of the Mutual Aid Agreement, can and will give practical application to the principles of the Atlantic Charter. (applause)

You have been dealing with agriculture -- agriculture, the most basic of all human activities; and with food -- agriculture, the most basic of all human needs. Twice as

many people are employed in work on food and in agriculture as in work in all the other fields of human activity put together (combined). And all people have, in the literal sense of the word, a vital interest in food.

That a child or an adult should get the nourishment necessary for full health is too important all over the world -- too important a thing to be left to mere chance.

You have recognized that society must accept this responsibility. As you stated in your declaration, "The primary responsibility lies with each nation for seeing that its own people have the food needed for health and life; steps to this end are for national determination. But each nation can fully achieve its goal only if all work together." (applause) And on behalf of the United States I gladly accept this declaration. (applause)

You have gone beyond the general recognition of principles, to deal in specific terms with specific things (tasks) and specific projects.

You have examined the needs of all countries for food and other agricultural products, both as they will exist, or rather, to put it this way, rather as they will exist in the short-run (period) of recovery from the devastation of war -- the few years when the fighting stops, and as they will exist over the longer run, when our efforts can be fully devoted to expanding the production of food, so that it will be adequate for health the world over, and all through the years to come.

You have surveyed with courage and with realism the magnitude of these problems, and you have reached unanimous agreement that they can, and must -- and will -- be solved.

It is true that no nation has ever had enough food to feed all of the (its) people, as we now know that human beings should be fed. But neither have nations representing over 80 percent of the world's two billion inhabitants, never (ever) before have they (been) joined together to achieve that (such an) aim. Never before have they set out to bend their united efforts to the development of the world's resources so that all men might seek to attain the food they need.

For the short-run, you have pointed out steps that (which) have to be taken, both in increasing supplies and in maintaining the economy of use and coordination of distribution.

In considering our long range problems, you have surveyed our knowledge of the inadequacy in the quantity and the quality of the diet of peoples in all lands. You have pooled our knowledge of the means of expanding our output, of increasing our agricultural efficiency in every nation, and of adjusting agricultural production to consumption needs. In the fields of both production and consumption you have recognized the need for the better utilization of the knowledge we now have, and for extending still further the boundaries of our knowledge through education and research.

You have called upon your governments individually and collectively to enlarge and improve their activities in

these fields.

For the perfection and the rapid execution of these plans, you have recommended the creation of a permanent United Nations organization, and for that I specially thank you. To facilitate and hasten the creation of that organization, (and) to carry on the work that you have begun until it is permanently set on its feet (its creation), you have established an Ad Interim Commission. The Government of the United States is honored that you have asked that the Interim Commission have its seat in Washington, and will be glad to take the preliminary action for the establishment of that commission which you have entrusted to it. (applause)

Finally, you have expressed your deep conviction that our goal in this field cannot be attained without forward action in other fields as well. Increased food production must be accompanied by increased industrial production, and by increased purchasing power. There must be measures for dealing with trade barriers, international exchange stability, and international investment. The better use of natural and human resources must be assured to improve the living standard(s); and, may I add, the better use of these resources without exploitation on the part of any nation. (applause) Now, under it goes -- I would say that many of these questions lie outside of the scope (of the work) that you have undertaken, but their solution is none the less essential to its success. They require, and I think they shall receive, our united attention.

In the political field, these relationships are

equally important. And they work both ways. A sound world agricultural program will depend upon world political security, while that security will in turn be greatly strengthened if each country can be assured of the food it needs. Freedom from want and freedom from fear go hand in hand. (applause)

And so I think that our ultimate objective can be simply stated: It is to build for ourselves, meaning for all men everywhere, a world in which each individual human being shall have the opportunity to live out his life in peace; to work productively, earning at least enough for his actual needs and those of his family; to associate with the friends of his choice; to think and worship freely; and to die secure in the knowledge that his children, and their children, shall have the same opportunities. (applause)

That objective, as men know from long and bitter experience, will not be easy to achieve. But you and I know, also, that throughout history there has been no more worth while, no more inspiring challenge.

That challenge will be met.

You have demonstrated beyond question that free peoples all over the world can agree upon a common course of action, and upon common machinery for action. You have brought new hope -- new hope to the world that, through the establishment of orderly international procedures for the solution of international problems, there will be attained freedom from want and freedom from fear. The United Nations are united in the war against fear and want, as solidly -- as (and) effectively

-- as they are united on the battle-front in this world(wide) war against aggression.

And we are winning that war by action and by unity. (applause)

And now may I express the hope that you will come out to the lawn, because Mrs. Roosevelt and I, and the Vice President and the Secretary of State want to have the privilege of meeting each and every one of you. (applause)

TOAST OF THE PRESIDENT
At The State Luncheon For
General Charles de Gaulle
July 7, 1944
(With The Latter's Reply)

I think we will all agree that this is an historic occasion we will remember all the rest of our lives. A great many of us know France personally. A great many of us were there in our childhood, or in our young manhood. There is something about France that doesn't exist anywhere else in the world. I think you know what I mean. It is the spirit of civilization that endears itself not just to us but to all the world, all the people who ever go there, and that includes the people of France.

During these past four years a great many of us -- all of us -- have been thinking about what France has gone through. And so time has gone on, and we have seen the dawn of the new day for France, the complete liberation of that civilization which will go back not just to what it was before, but to something even more appealing, something even greater than before this war.

We are enlisted in this country in the great task of bringing that great day, the liberation of France, even closer. When that day has come, and the government of France is restored to its own people, a great many of us will want to be there and see France, see the rejuvenated France, and taking its rightful place among all the nations.

So today -- there is going to be another Toast, but this one, first, I want to drink to the speeding up of the complete liberation of France.

(the Toast was drunk)

GENERAL DE GAULLE: (a translation)

I have the honor to answer your Toast, and this reply will be to tell you very simply that I reciprocate your feelings. You have spoken of France as a friend. You are this friend. The French people know this and thank you.

France has been completely submerged, but there are no events which can change her nature. When a nation is not dead its greatness can be recreated. I am convinced that the trials we have gone through will be the starting point of France's greatness, which will be in conformity with the principles you have mentioned, and with the deep friendship between our two countries.

Of this friendship you have spoken admirably. We shall remember, and we are resolved that our two countries shall continue in this friendship.

I raise my glass to the President who was, who is and who will remain the great friend of France, and to the American people.

(the Toast was drunk)

THE PRESIDENT:

Now I want to say, shall I call it a personal word. A year ago last January, at Casablanca, General de Gaulle and I met for the first time. I am glad this has been the second time, and most assuredly there will be a third time and many other times.

There are a lot of troublemakers in the world. I won't refer just to certain elements of the press in Algiers, and in Washington. That is with us always. But after all, the profession lives by stirring up controversy. That is an inherent part of our public information, which is not always correct.

There are all kinds of problems, most of them what might be called technical, or detailed, or local, which can be resolved by the meeting of the leaders -- the old idea that if you get around the table with a man you can solve anything.

There are no great problems between the French and the Americans, or between General de Gaulle and myself. They are all working out awfully well, without exception. They are going to work out all right, if they will just leave a few of us alone to sit around the table.

General de Gaulle and I have been talking this morning about all kinds of things all over the world. We have talked about controversial things -- controversial to the press, but really not controversial at all -- things that we are in complete agreement on, things for the future of the

world, things to prevent war in the future of the world, to disarm Germany, to see that this kind of thing that has been happening for the last five years shall not happen again for the next fifty.

And, therefore, it has been a great privilege to have General de Gaulle come over here to talk about these things, quietly, and to work out plans not just for the future of France but also plans for the future of the world, the cause of our objectives, our common objectives on which we are all agreed.

Therefore, it seems that at this meeting even now -- and it isn't over yet -- we will do even more.

I call it historic because it is going to have a great influence on all of humanity, on a great many countries and a great many continents. We can work these problems out if we keep on meeting the way we are meeting now.

It is a real pleasure to have him with us, and as I said before, something is being done for the good of the world. And that is why I think we can all tell the General from the bottom of our hearts how very happy we are to have him here in this common effort. The liberation of France is, of course, the most important of all. Every German boot we want out of France, once and for all. And when that day comes, we will all breathe much more happily and much more safely, not only during our lifetime but the lifetimes of our children.

So I propose the health of General de Gaulle, our friend.

(the Toast was drunk)

INFORMAL REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT MADE
DURING THE PEARL HARBOR TRIP

July 27, 1944...At Luncheon at Officers Club and Mess --
Schofield Barracks

I am always horrified when I have to make a speech. I am not here for that purpose. But I do want to tell you all about one experience of my life. Ten years ago today, I was out here taking a review. Here there has been the most amazing change in one place that I have ever seen. I remember that review very well. There were some First World War tanks in it. I think that of the twelve that took part, seven broke down before they could get past. Some difference in ten years! Half the trucks broke down before they could get across. And the aircraft at Schofield -- not more than fifteen or twenty -- three-fourths of them got past, though whether they got back safely on the earth, I don't know.

At that time, Hawaii was one of our major outposts, the outpost. We weren't allowed to fortify Guam. Today, it is no longer an outpost, it is one of our rear areas, in one sense of the word. From here we are conducting a campaign, one more advanced than any other campaign of the past, largely because of the good work you are doing here at this advance base.

I am awfully glad to come back here and see it with my own eyes ten years to the day later. I wish we could

stay here -- see more. It is being felt all through this area -- all the way down to General MacArthur's area, which thank the Lord is coming a little closer towards us, and automatically closer toward the enemy than it was two years ago.

It is good to see the three services together, because I think this morning I have seen not only the Marine Corps Air, but the Navy Air and the Army Air working so closely together in all their component parts. I wish everybody back home could see and understand a little more of what is going on out here.

It has been good to see you.

July 27, 1944...At Review --- Schofield Barracks.

Officers and men of the Seventh Division.

Your Commander in Chief brings you greetings from your own families, your own homes, to you here at this spot, which thank God is still a part of the United States.

I have heard much of what the Seventh Division has done. We are all proud of the Seventh, of what it has done, and what it is doing. And that is another reason why I wish you all the good luck in the world.

July 27, 1944...To the SeaBees --- Pearl Harbor.

Boys, I just want to say "howdy do."

This is the first bunch of SeaBees I have inspected or looked at overseas. I think you are known on every ocean and every continent -- all over the world.

The SeaBees have come forward as an institution more quickly than any other one I know of in the whole of our history, and all of us back home and out at the front are mighty proud of you.

It is good to see you.

July 27, 1944...To Men of the Fleet Marine Force -- Pearl Harbor.

I am glad to have this chance to see another bunch of Marines.

You know, it isn't generally known, but about thirty years ago or a little more, I was in charge of the U. S. Marine Corps -- it wasn't under the Secretary in those days, it was under the Assistant Secretary of the Navy -- so that I got to know your ancestors very well. And I follow what the Marines are doing in this war with a tremendous lot of interest.

I am very, very proud of you.

It has been good to see you.

July 27, 1944...At the Submarine Rest Center --- Royal Hawaiian Hotel.

I just want to say a word of greeting to all of you people -- a word from back home. You submarine officers and men of the Pacific, I think by now the people back home realize all that the submarine service has accomplished. I think they understand not only the purpose but its accomplishments. We are getting excellent reports from all over the world of what you are doing to help win the war.

I was here ten years ago -- lived right here in these quarters, on the top floor. I hope you will be just as comfortable and happy here as I was, because you deserve it a lot more.

July 29, 1944...At the Navy Yard, Pearl Harbor.

I am glad to be back again after ten years, and I hope it won't be ten years before I come back the third time. We are awfully proud back in Washington, back in the United States, of what is being done here. One thing here that appeals to me very strongly is the element of speed. We are just about twice as fast today as we ever were before, and we are going to make it even faster.

Today, without question we have got the largest and best equipped navy in the world, and that is something of

which to be proud.

Now I am a part of the Pearl Harbor navy yard. I was just given membership in the Georgia State Club. That makes me proud, too.

Thank you very much.

July 29, 1944...At the Naval Hospital, Aeia, Honolulu, T.H.

I am quite familiar with this hospital, on paper. Admiral McIntire and I have spent a good long time in the preparation of the plans in a spot where it is not nearly so pleasant as it is here. I think there are thousands of people in Washington who would be willing to come up here and take the places of these boys from Saipan. Washington in summertime is not a pleasant place to live. That is why I think all of you sick and wounded are very, very fortunate to be here.

It is good to see you, good to know of the excellent service you of the staff have been doing in bringing these people back to health. Bringing people back to full health who have been wounded and the sick is something that has progressed enormously since I went through the first World War.

I wish I could see all of you here today -- the staff, the wounded, and the sick. Your whole country is very, very proud of you.

August 3, 1944...At the Chief Petty Officers' Mess Hall, Naval Station, Adak, Alaska, Before a Representative Group of Servicemen.

Gentlemen, I like your food. I like your climate. (laughter) You don't realize the thousands upon thousands of people who would give anything in the world to swap places with you. I have seen some of them. Of course, I haven't been down to the Southwest Pacific, but last year I saw two battalions of our engineers down in Liberia, and I would much rather be here than in Liberia.

It's a treat to see this place and see what has been done here in such a short time. Say, for example, the spot where the Army moved a stream and made a harbor out of it. I have never been to this country before, but I know the parallel of it very well. I have spent lots of time up around the coasts of Maine and Newfoundland. And Americans of all kinds can live here and get by with it all right. I am thrilled with what we have done here. I wish more people back home could come out to Alaska and see what we have done here in an incredibly short time.

When the Japs first struck out here -- not here but west of here two years ago, folks back home, especially on the Coast, got panicky. The newspapers were in the lead. Well, they figured out that from these islands the enemy was going to come down and destroy San Francisco, Seattle and Los Angeles. The invasion was on! The continent of the United States was going to be captured by the Japs!

And of course, we live in a pretty big country. The people in the Midwest didn't quite see the peril. There was a lot of feeling, a lot of fear, a lot of laughter about the Pacific Coast. And the mere fact of what we have done in regaining the islands west of here from the Japs has had a tremendous moral effect on all of the United States. People see things now -- on the war -- from a more ordinary common sense point of view. People realize, I think, the fact that we are actually engaged in a war, either working or fighting, all over the Pacific, all over Europe and in many parts of Africa. They realize for the first time that this is a global war. That is one reason why many of us realize that it is a great privilege to take part in this kind of thing, a thing that has changed our people's point of view tremendously.

I have to be in close contact every day with the Army and Navy on the potential defense of the United States, and I was thinking a little while ago that if back in 1940 or early in 1941 I had said to the Chiefs of Staff of the Army and the Navy, "Our next war is going to be in the Aleutians and down in the Southwest Pacific," they would have all laughed at me. They are the experts at that sort of thing. I am not an expert. I am just an ordinary American. We can see now that we Americans were caught unprepared, because we were ordinary human beings, following the best advice we had at the time. No one would have guessed in 1941 that we would be attacked in such an unsportsmanlike manner as we were. No one would have visualized Pearl Harbor, either out there or in Washington.

But if we had known then what we know now, we would have expected an attack in 1941.

No one then visualized the great many thousands of our men in the services who would be up here in Alaska, first throwing the Japs out, and secondly making it impossible for the Japs to come back. Live and learn. That is one thing we are all doing these days. In the days to come I won't trust the Japs around the corner. We have got to make it impossible for them -- and we are all doing a great deal to make it impossible for them -- to repeat this particular route of access to the United States. That is why it is important, this work we are all doing on this spot. We are going to make it humanly possible to deny access to or aggressive attack by the Japanese of another generation against any part of the United States.

And so we are all taking part in a very interesting and historical development -- the protection of our kind of life, our kind of civilization back home, and at the same time we are gaining a better knowledge of a different part of the United States. We will remember that this is the United States, and that it is always going to be a part of the United States.

It has made me very happy, seeing with my own eyes the development of this place, the greatest part of which is not even one year old. What we are doing here is going to be of real value to our national defense and to our national growth.

I was talking to Admiral Nimitz down at Hawaii the other day, talking about the problem of a lot of people --

people in our services who want to go places after this war. There is a certain percentage of our people who haven't got roots back in the villages, on the farms -- people who want to go on pioneering. And after all, the ancestors of most all of us, from one generation back to ten generations, were pioneers in a pioneer country. And although this is not the best climate in the world up here in the Aleutians, it isn't the worst, and Alaska -- the mainland of Alaska -- is a big country.

I was noticing, just the other day, that if you superimpose Alaska on a map of the United States, one corner of it, the southeastern corner, would land somewhere around Charleston, South Carolina, and these islands -- the Aleutian Islands -- would end up somewhere near Los Angeles. And the mainland of Alaska would occupy nearly all of the Central and Midwestern States -- Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Iowa, Minnesota, Oklahoma, Kansas, Nebraska and the Dakotas. It's an enormous territory.

Well, it is going to open up for those in the services who want to start life in a new spot; and there are people like that. I wouldn't say we will bring a hundred thousand people to Alaska, but there are those who will at least want to go to a country much of which is good land to live on. There are an awful lot of people in Norway, Sweden and Finland who live in a country very similar to this. In spite of the climate, and, in winter, the long nights, they are a thoroughly happy people with a very high type of civilization. That is why I am

not particularly sorry for a lot of people in the services. Alaska opens up a new field, and a very promising field too, from all that I hear of its possibilities.

It has been a privilege to be with you, and to see this pioneer work. You are doing it awfully well -- doing a good job, first, for the defense of your country, and secondly you are doing it for the future of our nation. You are making our future secure for the years to come, more so than it has been in the past; and it took this war to make us do it.

It is good to be with you. Good luck. I won't say I want to stay longer, for I have to see other places too. My time is limited, and I have to be careful in scheduling it. By the time I get back home next week, I will have been gone thirty days -- my limit, when Congress is left in Washington all alone.

(laughter and applause)

August 9, 1944...On Leaving the U.S.S. BALTIMORE.

Captain Calhoun, Officers and Men of the BALTIMORE, I wanted to say just a word of goodbye to you, but before doing so I want to say a word of thanks to you. I have had a wonderful trip. It has been a grand privilege, first to get away from Washington, and secondly to have had this wonderful

cruise with you. I have learned a lot. That is one reason why I am still taking trips whenever I get the chance, and I prefer trips on cruisers of the United States Navy.

I have never been on one of these postwar, post-treaty cruisers before, but I am very familiar with the old heavy cruiser of the 10,000-ton class. It is an amazing thing to me to see the improvements that have been made. I think this is not only a wonderful ship, but also a happy crew, because of all that I had read before I came on board of the really grand record this ship and you people on the BALTIMORE have made. That is something the whole Navy will always be proud of. Not many ships in the entire service have had so many opportunities for combat in time of war as this ship has had, or have conducted themselves better -- or made a greater record.

And now there comes the time when I am going back to work, and I take it that you are going back, I hope, for a chance to play a little. And you richly deserve it. I hope you have a very happy liberty, and when the time comes all of you will be back in service continuing this tremendously important work, the work of winning this the greatest of all wars.

And when you get through and get home, I wish for you many years of happiness with your families, and a sense that you have done your part for your country and, furthermore, that the President of the United States has told you that he is mighty proud of you.

Good luck. Goodbyes.

Informal Remarks of the President

To the Dumbarton Oaks Conference Delegates

Executive Office of the President

August 23, 1944 -- 12.45 p.m., e.w.t.

Well, gentlemen, this is a very informal occasion. I haven't prepared any speech for this occasion. It is merely a feeling on my part that I would like to shake hands with you. I would like very much to be able to go out to that place out there with the fancy name -- what do you call it? -- Dumbarton Oaks, something like that, because they have some lovely things there collected from all over the world. I would like to be able to take a part in your discussions.

It always reminds me, a conference of this kind, of an old saying of a gentleman called Alfred E. Smith, who used to be Governor of New York. He was very, very successful in settling any problem between capital and labor, or anything that had to do with the State government in which there was a controversy.

He said if you can get 'em into one room with a big table and make them take their coats off and put their feet up on the table, and give each one of them a good cigar and a scotch and soda, you can always make 'em agree. (laughter)

Well, there was something in it -- in the spirit of taking one's coat off, which we do in this country with great frequency. They don't do it so much in England, and I don't think they do it as much in Russia. But put your feet on the table -- that also is an American habit. And a scotch and

soda, or its equivalent, is, I think, a universal habit.

(laughter) So I hope that they are entertaining you out at Dumbarton Oaks along those lines.

You have a great responsibility. In a way, it's a preliminary responsibility. But, after all, we learn from experience, and what I hope is that in planning for the peace that is to come we will arrive at the same good cooperation and unity of action as we have in the carrying on of the war. And that is a very remarkable fact, that we have carried on this war with such great unanimity.

I often think that it comes down so much to personalities. When, back in 1940, at the time -- 1941 -- of the Atlantic Charter, just for example, I didn't know Mr. Churchill at all. Well, I had met him once or twice very informally during the first World War. I didn't know Mr. Eden. But up there in the North Atlantic, three or four days together, two ships lying alongside of each other, we got awfully fond of each other. I got to know him, and he got to know me. In other words, I met the fellow, and you can't hate a man that you know -- have a chance to know well.

Later on, at Teheran -- before -- before Teheran, Mr. Molotov came up and we had a grand time together. And then during the following year, up at Teheran, the Marshal and I got to know each other. We got on beautifully. We cracked the ice -- if there ever was any ice -- and since then there has been no ice. And that's the spirit in which I know you are going about your work.

The -- I was just talking with the -- with the Secretary of War, Mr. Stimson, who is a great deal older than any of us -- he is nearly 77, and he has had a very, very long experience in the Government -- and he was saying that one of the tasks we face is making this conference of ours -- and the successor conferences -- something that will last, last a long time, because he says -- he says, unfortunately in Germany the young people, the young Nazis got an idea which will be a dangerous idea to the peace of the world just as long as they have anything to say about it.

The prisoners of 17, 18, 20, that we are capturing now -- both the French front and the Soviet front -- these German prisoners of that age are even worse in their Nazism than the prisoners of 40 or 45. And, therefore, as long as they have anything to say about it -- these young men -- the peril of Nazism will always be before us. The same thing is true of Japan, under certain circumstances, although that is not a serious problem.

And we have got to make, not merely a peace but a peace that will last, and a peace in which the -- the larger nations will work absolutely in unison in preventing war by force. We have all had to come to it. It may have gone -- gone against the grain for many of us to admit a thing like that. We didn't believe it ten years ago -- twenty years ago. But the four of us must meet together -- and I said the four, because we hope that in time the Chinese Republic will be in with us, representing a fairly large sector of the population of the world --

over four hundred million people. And these four people have got to be friends, conferring all the time -- the basis of getting to know each other -- putting their feet up on the table.

And so I am very hopeful that it can be done, because of the spirit that has been shown in the past in getting together for the winning of the war. Well, we think now that that is in sight. It isn't even around the corner. We can't tell. We don't -- if we are wise -- we don't set dates on the winning of the war, or for the capture of a city, or anything else. Too many people do that.

But there is the spirit, though, that we have learned so well in the last few years -- we have acquired. It is something new, this intimate relationship between the British Empire and the United States. It's new. This great friendship between the Russian people and the American people -- that's new. Well, let's hang on to both of them, and by spreading that spirit around the world, we may have a peaceful period for our grandchildren to grow up in.

And so all I can do is to wish you every possible success in this great task that you have undertaken. It won't be a final task, you know that, but at least it gives us something to build on, so that we can accomplish the one thing that humanity has been looking forward to for a great many hundreds of years.

It's good to see you. Good luck.

(this transcript was edited personally by the President, and then given out to the press as per attached copy)

Toast Of The President

For The President Of Iceland, Sveinn Bjornsson
State Dining Room Of The White House
August 24, 1944, 9.30 p.m., e.w.t.
(With The Latter's Reply)

Only four members of my Cabinet are here tonight, the others are off on holiday or for some other reason, but I am glad to say that half of them have been in Iceland. The Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Treasury have been there, so in having been there they know more about Iceland personally than I do. However, as I said to the President, I have always been a student of Iceland.

About two years ago there was put up to me the great question as to where Iceland was. Was it in the European hemisphere or the American hemisphere? And I used the judgment of Solomon, I said it was in both hemispheres -- which is true. To be quite frank, chiefly for practical reasons. But it belongs in both hemispheres, it belongs to the life of both hemispheres. And in the future -- this is a prediction -- I think that Iceland will always be considered, for certain practical reasons, a part of the Americas, and a part of Europe.

For practical reasons we all know Iceland is necessary to our defense, illustrated some three years ago when there was real danger, when Germany was not only on the offensive but was over-running a greater part of the world every day. And there was the danger in those days -- when all of us were on the defensive, and I am speaking from the American point of view --

that Iceland would be occupied by the Germans.

And on that particular occasion, whether it was constitutional or not the historians will determine a hundred years from now, the State Department took up with the Icelandic government -- which was then closely associated with Denmark -- the possibility of our making sure, by sending troops to Iceland, that Germany could not use it as a "fait accompli" against this continent. We were selfish. We couldn't afford to let Germany use Iceland as a base from which to bomb or send expeditions against the American continent.

And therefore, because of the cordial relations that existed, we were able to make a perfectly legal agreement with the government of Iceland by which we sent in our troops. We said quite frankly, and we meant it as the President knows, that when this danger of a German occupation of Iceland was over and the world returns to peace, we not only would recognize but we would work for the complete independence of what is the Iceland, not of today but of a thousand years back, the Iceland that essentially has always been independent, a nation -- and this is something that perhaps some people could use to some advantage -- Irish in its origin.

I was asking the President, who incidentally is the first President of their Republic -- we haven't had many, thirty-two, that's all -- who were the first people in Iceland, were they Esquimaux? No, an Esquimaux was never there. He said the first people in Iceland were the Irish, which is extremely interesting. Not only the Irish, by the founding of a

monastery in Iceland, but the first white people -- as we call them -- in Iceland were the Irish, followed after that, after the Norsemen had come -- the Vikings had come -- by another influx of Irish, including an Irish princess, the President said. So there you are.

And from that time on, for more than a thousand years -- we celebrated their thousandth anniversary a short time ago -- we have had an independent nation in Iceland, the oldest of our civilization in all the world, with a parliamentary government, with complete independence in the best sense of the word, not only making their own laws but living their own lives, not only their own government but a people's government, who said what they wanted, and who always had their way, including the right to elect the present President, who incidentally -- probably a good thought, which I won't press -- was elected unanimously. (laughter) I catch the eyes of Senator Vandenberg. (more laughter) But that is the way they elected their first President.

And, of course, we did, too, in 1788-9. We elected George Washington unanimously, and he was the first and the last that was thus elected. So I warn my colleagues for you -- (laughter) -- if he should run for a second or a third or a fourth term, he mustn't expect to be elected unanimously. (more laughter) And so Iceland is a great deal more than a name in mythology.

In the last few years, Iceland was a name to us. One and eight-tenths percent of our trade to Iceland went

that way. Things differ from time to time. Today it is 58 percent, something like that, due primarily to the war -- we might just as well admit that. But at the same time, and thinking of the future, we want to keep Iceland on the map, that is the great point, always. The whole of civilization wants Iceland as the cradle of the oldest republic that has ever happened -- something to teach the world a lesson. You run your own universities, you are friends with all the Scandinavians, and those who are in Iceland too.

But you run into the curious fact that last year or the year before -- a few years ago -- Sweden issued stamps to celebrate the freedom of the Swedes from Danish control.

Remember that. The Norwegians have insisted on their independence from Sweden. The Norwegians and the Danes are first cousins. You have Scandinavian blood, with a very good Irish admixture. And, on the whole, in the family of nations, the American people have a great deal of Scandinavian blood in them, a lot of them -- there are a great many Swedes, and Norwegians, and some Danish and a few Icelanders here. But we want the future to look at it from the point of view that we are all of the same basic stock, fundamentally.

And we want inter-marriage. I am alluding now to a number of people -- several thousand have already -- who are now under the jurisdiction of Secretary Stimson, who are related by marriage with Icelandic girls, and who are going to stay in Iceland, if you let them, after the war. It's all right. Now, I don't protest against that one bit. We like it, and

we hope that some of their children will come over here and become a part of the American family.

Now on the other things more practical, like trade, I was saying to his Minister a few minutes ago there is an American habit of cocktails, but we haven't yet acquired the Scandinavian habit of the things that go before cocktails. Don't sell us cod liver oil, I don't like cod liver oil -- (laughter) -- but go into the things that pay more money. Send us some smoked salmon, and things of that kind that go well before the cocktails. In that way you can help, and we can help by general trade between Iceland and the United States. After all, things are going to go by trade a great deal in the future.

It has been easier, because of the shorter distance, to send your hors d'oeuvres to England, but they don't know a good hors d'oeuvre when they see it. Please send us some, for we are very fond of them. And specialize in them, not the vulgar stuff, but the specials. You can send us wool, for you have a special kind of wool we don't know of here. And so trade, if we go at it from the point of view of building it up on special lines -- Iceland is small, and therefore you have to specialize -- I think it can be done.

And in the days to come -- I am not speaking about this treaty or that treaty or the other treaty they are talking about now, but it depends very largely on the spirit, very much on the spirit. If the spirit is all right behind the objective, greater friendship and greater trade, we can get

somewhere.

You have your politics, Mr. President, and you have a legislature, the oldest legislature in the world, incidentally. Over here I have my politics -- I am not taking a very great part in them -- and I have a legislature, a very young legislature, it's only 150 -- 160 years old. They learn with age. (laughter) And so I have great hopes that when this thing comes up, the Senate of the United States which has a great deal to do with foreign policy will accept a treaty of trade and friendship, inclusive -- all-inclusive -- with the Republic of Iceland, without saying No just because they don't like the President of the United States.

Now that's an ideal, and perhaps my hope will be justified. Time alone will tell.

But, at least, in welcoming you to Washington, you know that the present President has his heart in the right place.

And so I drink to the first President of Iceland.

(the Toast was drunk)

THE PRESIDENT OF ICELAND: (in English)

Mr. President, I thank you very much for your kind words about my country and my visit here. My people in Iceland are very glad to realize the fact that the United States wants Iceland to be on the map. You have shown it this year, by

the way you took the proclamation of the Republic and the inauguration of myself as first President, and sent a special Ambassador. It has been of great value to Iceland.

I am glad to be here today. It is my first visit outside my country since I came into office. I am very glad that this first visit is here in Washington, and that I have the opportunity to bring thanks from the Icelandic people to the present government and Congress, and the people of the United States, for their attitude in this question.

The President mentioned a problem which is very difficult to climb out of, whether Iceland belongs to the European or Western hemispheres. And the President thought the solution was it belonged to both. Excuse me, I must make a by-pass there.

The President then mentioned that the first settlers of Iceland were Irish, but they left Ireland.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. (laughter)

THE PRESIDENT OF ICELAND: You know, perhaps, that the first settlers of America and the United States were Icelanders.

THE PRESIDENT: That's right. That's right.

THE PRESIDENT OF ICELAND: But they left. (more laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: Yes.

THE PRESIDENT OF ICELAND: It is a curious thing how things can happen like that, but it seems to me that as naval people we are proud to have our historical connections there, and many other things. During this war we have got to know more and more of America than ever before.

And may I say that three years ago, when this situation was there, it was to be feared the Germans would occupy Iceland if there were not made some other precautions. And, therefore, the Icelandic government and the Icelandic parliament asked the United States to take over their defense of America.

Then it was because the Icelandic people and the Icelandic political leaders had a real confidence in the people and government of the United States, a confidence that they would see to it that with this small population they would see to it that this risk would not be to any detriment for the Icelandic people, and at the same time a confidence that you were standing for the same ideals we are so glad to have, that we used to call the democratic ideals, but it is in my conception something more than according to Demos and the present conception of that: it is human -- thoroughly human. That is why we have been so glad for this friendship shown to us from the United States.

And I will take the opportunity, when I spoke about confidence in this connection, there was the question of a great number of foreign soldiers and how they would conduct themselves in a country of so small a population. And after an experience of three years, I am glad to be able to say here that the general feeling of the Icelandic people is that they conducted themselves so well under the circumstances that we cannot but have still more respect for the American people.

For those reasons, and many others, it is up to the future to say how that connection will be, but I have felt

that the people in the United States who have seen something of our production, they believe in a real exchange of trade between Iceland and the United States. And we should be very glad to have that in any case, because we need so much just from the United States, we need all sorts of materials and machinery for developing our agricultural and other things. And how it will be after the war, which you are considering now how to arrange that exchange between our peoples, would always be very good, if we would be able to sell much more than we have done until now.

I shall not use more words, but you will understand by what I have said that this problem might be, from the point of view of many people, a dangerous thing -- a great power like the United States to defend a country by its soldiers without any invitation. I think it has worked, from our point of view, in a way that we have nothing to be disappointed about, and of the friendship shown to Iceland.

And last but not least, your wish about when we founded this great Republic makes us very thankful to the present government and Congress of the United States.

And may I -- by my leave -- drink to the health of our host, the President of the United States.

(the Toast was drunk)

THE PRESIDENT: As the head of one of the younger nations, may I add this Toast to the head of one of the oldest

nations in the world, and that our eternal friendship may increase. To the President of Iceland.

(the Toast was drunk)

Toast Of The President

At The Luncheon for Dr. Ramon Grau San Martin,
President-Elect of Cuba

In The State Dining Room At The White House
August 31, 1944, around 2.00 p.m., e.w.t.
With The Latter's Reply

I want to say a word of welcome to a gentleman whom I feel I have known for a great many years. Dr. San Martin came into my life very soon after I came to Washington in 1933. I am very, very happy that he is about to be inaugurated as President of Cuba, one of the three countries closest to us, not only geographically but in intercourse -- visiting every day that goes by. We are a real neighbor, I think a good neighbor of Cuba.

Which reminds me, that the President-Elect is largely responsible for the good neighbor policy. I don't know that he is aware he is in large part responsible, because of the fact that he was mixed up in the revolution in Cuba in 1933. And there was a real reason for dissatisfaction in Cuba with its own government; and firing started.

And there were a great many people in this country who said, "Ah, now you must intervene under the Platt Amendment for the third time." And I got letters and telegrams that we must do something about this problem in Cuba.

And thinking it over for a week or two, as the trouble was continuing, I asked the ambassadors and ministers of all the other American republics to come to the White House. They came into my study and sat down, and I said, "Gentlemen, I am

going to make a very revolutionary announcement. I have decided not to send the armed forces of the United States into Cuba. I am going to send some Coast Guard cutters, and other gunboats and small craft to the ports of Cuba, and send word to every American in Cuba that if they are afraid for their lives, to go down to a port and they will find a Coast Guard revenue cutter they can get on, and we will take them home to the United States without any expense. And having done that, we will send word to all the people of Cuba to go right ahead and have the revolution. We think it's rather silly not to work it out some other way, but we are not going to interfere under the Platt Amendment."

Well, the result was there was a certain amount of trouble in a short time. We never fired a shot. The Congress of the United States repealed the Platt Amendment, and Cuba since that time has had no trouble at all.

The President of Cuba whom we have seen here before, we know he is a military man. The President-Elect was not of his party, and at very low cost -- I wish we could say the same thing about our coming election -- was elected President. He does not represent the military profession. He is a doctor, he is a professor.

And so we are looking forward to a new government in Cuba under their constitution and under the leadership of Senor Grau San Martin; and looking forward to it with a great deal of satisfaction, because we know he is a true liberal.

Some people, nowadays, say that a liberal is merely

another name for Communist. Senor Grau Martin is not a Communist. I know that. Other people say that a liberal is a Fascist. I know that he is not that. I think that all of us who know anything about it feel that Cuba is to be congratulated on having him as their next President. We in the United States look forward to an even closer relationship, and a better understanding with the government of Cuba, and the people of Cuba. We know that the President-Elect stands for certain ideals -- practical ideals, human ideals.

So we are very happy to have him here at the White House. And I hope that after the tenth of October, when his inauguration takes place, that he will come here very often. He knows, quite frankly, that it would probably be easier for him to come to Washington, during this war, than for me to go to Habana. But I hope when the war is over that as a private citizen, shall we say, or otherwise -- (laughter) -- I will have the chance to visit him in Habana.

So, to your health, Senor Martin.

(the Toast was drunk)

THE PRESIDENT-ELECT OF CUBA: (in English)

Mr. President, ten years ago I was obliged to take over my government in Cuba after the big, bloody revolution.

You, Mr. President, are right. Some people say I am Communist, and other people say I am Fascist. I take this

opportunity now to say I am the real Cuban, as you are the real American; and I can be said to be American, for I am a Democrat.

Now I am going to take the rule of the government by the popular election, which by the character of my people I was assumed to be of true worth.

When I left Cuba two days ago, our people said to me: Our best wishes to President Roosevelt, for his health and the happiness of America.

And now I raise my glass to the heroic American soldiers who are fighting for Democracy.

(the Toast was drunk)

Informal Remarks of the President

Made on the Parapet at The Citadel in Quebec, Canada

On the Occasion of the McGill University

Honorary Degree Ceremonies

For the President and Prime Minister Churchill

September 16, 1944, around 3.30 p.m., e.w.t.

May I say just a few words. This means to me another tie with people who are our neighbors, the kind of tie which is not official, something that goes back a good many years.

I always remember, a good many years ago, I was presented with an honorary degree by a little institution that was founded by George Washington. And when the president of that little college down in Maryland presented it to me with the words, "We hereby make you one of a company of educated men," I think that has meant almost everything to me, in recognition of the fact that I can speak and read and write English.

So many of our young men in the United States have come here over the years, that we are in closer touch with McGill than almost any other university outside the United States. I have met many Americans who attended the University, and that is another reason for feeling as I do, that this degree means that I am a fellow alumnus of the University.

So I am very grateful, and very happy.

(applause)

PRIME MINISTER CHURCHILL: Your Excellency, Your Royal Highness, Mr. President of the United States, my lords, ladies and gentlemen:

This is a high honor which I have received at your hands, which I greatly value. And it is hard to think of any more striking setting in which such dignities should be conferred. Wartime has justified you in making this new departure in creating these new degrees, but it is wartime that governs all our affairs at the present. I think this gathering here may well be a unique spectacle, and an episode by itself, in the long and honorable history of McGill University.

I need not say, also, how much I feel the compliment and pleasure of being associated in this honor with my august friend -- my dear friend and wartime comrade, where our friendship has grown under the hammer blows of war -- in being the recipient of all these academic distinctions. It has been an added pleasure and an added thrill to me on this occasion.

Your spokesman has been altogether kind in his statement of the reasons which have justified the University -- or held to have justified the University -- in taking this step, so far as I am concerned.

We have lived through a great age. We are living in a great age, of which it will always be said that this present generation, in Britain and in the United States, had cast upon them burdens and problems without compare in the history of the world. Under the severest stresses, and under the most hard and searching trials, they have shown themselves not unequal to these problems. On the contrary, they have triumphed over them, and thus cleared the way to the broad advance of mankind, to levels they have never yet attained, and securities of

which they will never be deprived.

(applause)

(the President and the Prime Minister spoke
after Honorary L.L.D Degrees had been con-
ferred on them)

(copies for Prime Minister Winston Churchill,
and F. Cyril James, head of McGill University)

Extemporaneous Remarks of the President on the Occasion of the
Formal Dinner for the President of Paraguay, General Higinio
Morinigo, June 9, 1943, About Nine O'clock P.M., E.W.T.

May I take this opportunity to say what I have had in my heart for a long time. We are very happy to have President Morinigo here, because we have great reasons to be grateful to Paraguay for the magnificent stand they have taken for the solidarity of their armies.

I shall never forget, not so long ago -- it seems many years -- at the conference in Rio de Janeiro, we needed positive action. We had all agreed on the one subject -- on that action for solidarity: breaking off relations with the Axis powers.

At that time at that meeting, the foreign ministers of Paraguay, acting on instructions from their President, stepped forward at just the right moment and the right timing, and pledged Paraguay in this great effort of all the Americas -- the thought of the hemisphere -- that we should break off relations with the brigands of modern civilization.

Paraguay acted in accordance with an old slogan of mine, "Do not only the right thing, but do it at the right time," and thereby gave heart to all of our sister Republics. From that time on we have had closer dealings with Paraguay than ever before in our history.

I do not have to speak, outside of this room perhaps, about the great bravery, the plain -- the sheer -- bravery

of the armies of Paraguay. Throughout all these years -- many, many years, more than centuries -- the soldiers of Paraguay representing their nation can, I think, be called the bravest soldiers in all the Americas, because they have had the thought of maintaining their independence as the first thought in all their minds. They have lost thousands of the best blood of Paraguay in battle, and they have come through with their independence.

The General and President -- as I put it -- is one of the most distinguished generals of that magnificent army. We think of him not only as the President of the Republic, but also as the leader of the armies of Paraguay in their latest war. We hope they won't have to go through wars of that kind again. We hope that all of the Republics will work together to see that they don't have to defend their independence any more.

During these years, because of geography, it has been very difficult for us -- for Americans -- to go to Paraguay. We thought of it as an interior Republic, far up one of the greatest rivers of the continent. And yet, with the advent of air, and the advent of better roads, we look forward to the day when more Americans can go there, and go there as a natural and logical part of their visits to the other countries of the hemisphere.

I hope that those relations, not merely communication, but trade and everything else that goes with it, that they are going to increase. We think that we have broken the ice, not

only in our relations -- our Pan American or diplomatic relations, but we have broken the ice in regard to getting to know each other better.

And so I hope that in the years to come Paraguay and the United States will become closer friends -- personal friends, than we have ever been before. Toward that end this Government -- the Government and President -- are going hand in hand; and may this association be carried out more greatly, more usefully -- spiritually, economically, materially, in every way.

We recognize Paraguay very definitely as one of the great Republics of the Americas.

And so it gives me great pleasure to propose a Toast to His Excellency the President of Paraguay.

(the Toast was drunk, and President Morinigo replied briefly in Spanish, accompanied by a Toast to President Roosevelt)

ADDRESS Of The President

Delivered At The White House, East Room

Before the Conference of Rural Education

October 4, 1944, at 4.30 p.m., e.w.t.

Radio Broadcast

Ladies and gentlemen: I feel like a fish out of water.

I haven't thought of education for three years, that is to say,
education in this country. I have thought about education in
some other countries, changing the type of education in certain
other countries. And yet, all the while, I am told by words
that American education has supported the war effort wholehearted-
ly, but that was rather a manual problem than an intellectual
one. And I have seen a lot of young people -- boys and girls --
coming into the service of their Government during the war, and
some of them have been educated, and some of them are not. And
that is what I want to talk to you a little bit about today.

There are a lot of (many) things (which) we have learned in this war. Among the most important are those that (which) we have learned because of the war, because of the things that have happened, for instance, through our Selective Service System about the health and education of the youth of our nation.

But the longer I live, I think that there is another
part of education called health; and it hasn't been a very nice
story. It has been far worse than people in this country as a
whole realize. And that is why, when we know that some day --
and we have passed the peak -- some day we are going to come
back to the ways of peace. (We have found that among those

examined for selective service 4½% can be classed as illiterate; and that 40% of all registrants for selective service have not gone beyond an elementary school education.)

Therefore, it is an excellent thing that (That is why) this Conference on Rural Education has shown (assumes) such great importance in our planning for the future, because we are going to have peace, some day. (For) While we plan for the welfare of our returning veterans, for example, planning for that, first -- and I think rightly -- and for the continued prosperity of our war workers, which means, first and last, the majority of the human beings in this country, we must also lay plans for the peacetime establishment of our educational system on a better basis than in -- it seems to me I should say those days of long ago that we used to call peacetime days (we have ever known before).

Those should be the goals of this Conference on Rural Education.

For rural teaching, country teaching, the teaching given in the small schools at the farm cross-roads and in the little villages and towns has played a greater part in American history than any other kind of education. From what I have said, you will see that I am a country boy too.

The American form of government was conceived and created by men most of whom had been taught in country schools.

Country schools prepared Americans as a whole for the task of mastering this continent.

Country schools trained a great proportion of the

boys who fought the early American wars.

The country schools trained millions of those who are fighting this greatest of American wars today. And they will play their part - a tremendous part -- in the creation of the American future to which the citizens of this country are committed in their hearts and souls. Much more unanimously, I might add, than the newspapers of these weeks in this war would lead us to believe.

It is for all of us, I think (Americans), to see that the building of that future does not lag because the country schools are without the means to carry on their essential work even more greatly than they have in the past.

The full attendance at this Conference, and the agenda which it has before it indicate the special attention that (which) must be given to the problems of the education of that half of our children and youth who live on the farms and in the villages. So far as school opportunities are concerned, these children have always been, and still are, the least privileged in the nation. We are justifiably proud of the splendid, modern schools in our cities and towns. We cannot be proud of this (the) fact: that many of our rural schools, particularly during these years of war, have been sadly neglected.

Within one school year after Pearl Harbor, several thousand rural schools had been closed because teachers could not be found for them. One of the leading farm papers recently reported that in one agricultural state of the midwest, nearly a third of the teachers in one-room schools are now persons

holding only emergency licenses to teach, and nearly 800 schools face this coming school year without a teacher. That fact ought to be brought home to the American people.

The basic reason for this situation is simple, I think. We all know what it is. It is not patriotism alone that has taken teachers out of the classrooms. Most of them simply cannot afford to teach in rural schools.

And I always remember, a great many years ago, when I was down in Georgia, the first year I was there, sitting on the porch, and a young man came up twiddling his cap, and he said, "Mr. Roosevelt, may I speak to you?"

And I said, "Yes. Come up."

And he said, "Mr. Roosevelt, we are having commencement in our school -- mentioning a little village a few miles away -- and I would like to have you come over and present the diplomas next Wednesday."

And I said, "I would be very glad to do it. What are you? Are you the -- the president of the graduating class?"

And he said, "No, sir. I am -- I am the principal of the school." (laughter)

And I said, "How old are you?"

He said, "I am nineteen, sir."

I said, "Have you been to college?"

"Oh Yes, sir. I have had one year at the University of Georgia. I am taking this year out for enough money to go back for a second year at the University."

And I said, "How much are you getting as principal?"

"Oh," he said, "I am getting four hundred dollars a year."

And that boy had 250 pupils under him.

The present average salary is less than -- in this country -- less than \$1000 a year, and I think that some salaries go as low -- in my State, for instance -- say (as) \$300. But I know schools where it is less than that. That is just too small by any decent standard in any part of the country. Only the self-sacrificing devotion of teachers who put their duty to their schools before their consideration for (of) themselves permits the children of many American school districts to get the education to which all Americans are entitled.

Frankly, the chief problem of rural education is something that we don't simplify enough. It is the problem of dollars and cents. You and I know that. We also know (also) that in very many cases the problem cannot be solved by just increasing the local taxes because the taxable values are just not there.

I have pointed out before that the gap between the educational standards in the richer communities and those in the poorer communities is far greater today than it was 100 years ago. I think I have said this six years ago. And we have got to turn the course of that trend.

We must find the means of closing the (that) gap -- by raising the standards in the poorer communities. And that ought to be stressed morning, noon and night.

I believe that the Federal government should

render financial aid where it is needed, but (and) only where it is needed. I don't mean Federal aid in the town of Hyde Park in Dutchess County. We have got taxable values, and we can handle our own schools. I live there part of the time. But we do need Federal aid down in Georgia, where I live also a part of the time. Down there they haven't got the taxable values. Only where it is needed in communities where farming does not pay much, where land values have depreciated through erosion or through flood or drought, where industries have moved away, where transport facilities are inadequate or where electricity is unavailable for power and light.

Such government -- Federal government financial aid should, of course, never involve government interference with State and local administration and control. It must purely and simply provide the guarantee that this country is big enough, and as a whole rich enough and great enough to give to all of its children the right to a free education.

Closely related to this whole problem is the question of -- that I said when I started goes hand in hand with it -- the health of our young people. And we who are interested in education can bring the problem, I think, much more closely and with perhaps a greater sympathy, to all the homes of the country, if we can tie in health with education.

Here again we cannot boast of the problem of health. We cannot boast of our part in this war without a feeling of guilt -- for about 40% of all the men who were examined under the Selective Service -- about 40% of them had to be rejected

for military service for physical or mental reasons. And we ought to hang our heads in shame at that statement.

We cannot be satisfied with the state of this nation if a large percentage of our children are not being given the opportunity to achieve good health (education) as well as (and) good education (health).

We can put it this way, if we want -- if you care about education: what's the use of giving them an education without their having the good health to use it when they grow up?

I believe that our educators -- those who are close to the (our) children of the land -- ought to (should) consider these two problems together. I believe that from such conferences such as this one, we may produce constructive plans looking toward substantial improvement in the (our) American standard of living in education as a part of our standard of living, as well as breakfast, school-lunch and supper. And that means better production, better clothes, better food, better housing, more recreation, more enjoyment of life. These things don't (do not) come about from wishful thinking -- they come from hard work, from (and) realistic thinking by those who are sincerely devoted to the solution of these problems.

We do not pretend that we can reach our goals overnight but if we seek them day in and day out, we may in our own lives -- while we are still alive -- take our rural educational system out of what was called, once upon a time, by a certain gentleman, the horse and buggy age. (laughter)

Your Conference this year has met at a time when

the forces of evil have their backs to the wall -- at a time when all the civilized world is more than ever determined that such wars cannot, will not, happen again.

Nothing can provide a stronger bulwark and (in this) determination in the years to come than an educated and enlightened and tolerant citizenry, equipped with the armed force necessary to stop aggression and warfare in this world.

So, to you of this Conference, and to all similar groups devoted to the cause of a better America, in the big places and the small places, the nation will look for advice and guidance as, in democratic fashion, it works out the (its) designs of (for) the future.

Thank you. (applause)

I am sorry I can't stay and listen and learn, but you have got me right in the middle of what they call a staff conference with the Army and Navy of the United States; and I have got to go back to it, because all sorts of people with four stars on their shoulders are waiting for me. (laughter and applause.)

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
IN CONNECTION WITH THE TRANSFER TO THE
GOVERNMENT OF GREECE
OF A PATROL VESSEL UNDER THE LEND-LEASE ACT
AT THE
WASHINGTON NAVY YARD
JUNE 10, 1943, AT 5.10 P.M., E.W.T.
RADIO BROADCAST

Mr. Ambassador:

To most of us gathered here on this occasion, the year 1940 seems a long time ago. Yet in that year occurred an event which shall herald for all time the fact that mere force is not enough to banish man's desire and man's determination for freedom, nor man's willingness to sacrifice life itself that freedom may live.

History will proclaim the date of that event as October 28, 1940. We know the location of the southern peninsula of the Balkans -- an area about the size of New York State. For far more than two thousand years, poets have sung of this land as the Kingdom of Hellas -- known to us as Greece.

Although we had begun to prepare for the evil fates which were to befall the world in 1940, the United States was for the most part an apprehensive onlooker at the terrible pageant of history. In April of that year we saw the treachery against Norway, in May the unprovoked murder of Rotterdam, the fall of the Netherlands and the capitulation of Belgium. In June of that year, Axis hordes marched into Paris as the banner of liberty hung at half-staff throughout the world. On September 27th of that year, Germany, Italy and Japan signed the pact under which they were to force the blessings of the

New Order on a neatly parceled-out globe.

And then came October 28th, nineteen hundred and forty.

In Athens, the people and the government were given three hours in which to decide whether to accept Axis slavery or to resist an Axis onslaught from the skies. I repeat -- the people and the Government of Greece were given three hours, not three days, or three weeks. If they had been given three years, their choice would have been the same.

Today, Greece is a land of desolation, stripped bare of all the essentials of living. Thousands have died of hunger. Thousands are dying still. Today, Greece is a gaunt and haggard sample of what the Axis is so willing so eager (eager and willing) to hand to all the world.

But within their own land, and upon other shores, the Greeks are fighting on. They will never be defeated. And the day will come when liberated Greeks will again maintain their own government within the shadow of the Acropolis and the Parthenon.

As an expression of our hopes and our prayers that this day may be hastened, the Government and the people of the United States offer a token of our warm friendship for the Government and the people of Greece. This ship of war, built by American hands in an American yard, is delivered under the terms of Lend-Lease to fighting Greeks wherever they may be. As a part of the Royal Hellenic Navy -- and Christened King George Second -- may she add even more luster to the glory

that is Greece.

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(applause)

ADDRESS Of The President
From The White House
Broadcast Nationally
October 5, 1944
10.00 p.m., e.w.t.

My fellow Americans -- I am speaking to you tonight from the White House. I am speaking particularly on behalf of those Americans who, regardless of party -- I hope you will remember that -- very much hope that there will be recorded a large registration and a large vote this fall. I know, and many of you do, from personal experience how effective precinct workers of all parties throughout the nation can be in assuring a large vote.

We are holding a national election despite all the prophecies of some politicians and a few newspapers who have stated, time and again in the past, that it was my horrid and sinister purpose to abolish all elections and (to) deprive the American people of the right to vote.

These same people, caring more for material riches than human rights, try to build up bogies of dictatorship in this Republic, although they know that free elections will always protect our nation against any such possibility.

Nobody will ever deprive the American people of the right to vote except the American people themselves -- and the only way they could do that is by not voting at all.

The continuing health and vigor of our democratic system depends on the public spirit and devotion of its

citizens which find expression in the ballot box.

Every man and every woman in this nation -- regardless of party -- who have the right to register and to vote, and the opportunity to register and to vote, have also the sacred obligation to register and to vote. For the free and secret ballot is the real keystone of our American constitutional system.

The American Government has survived and prospered for more than a century and a half, and it is now at the highest peak of its vitality. This is primarily because when the American people want a change of Government -- even when they merely want "new faces" -- they can raise the old electioneering battle-cry of "throw the rascals out."

It is true that there are many undemocratic defects in voting laws in the various States, almost forty-eight different kinds of defects, and some of these produce injustices which prevent a full and free expression of public opinion.

The right to vote must be open to our citizens irrespective of race and color or creed -- without tax or artificial restriction of any kind. The sooner we get to that basis of political equality, the better it will be for the country as a whole.

Candidates in every part of the United States are now engaged in running for office.

All of us who are doing it are actuated by a normal desire to win. But, speaking personally, I should be very sorry to be elected President of the United States on a small turnout of voters. And by the same token, if I were to be defeated,

I should be much happier to be defeated in a large outpouring of voters. Then there could not be any question of doubt in anybody's mind as to which way the masses of the American people wanted this election to go.

The full and free (free and full) exercise of our sacred right and duty to vote is more important in the long run than the personal hopes or ambitions of any candidate for any office in the land.

The administration which must cope with the difficult problems of winning the war, and of peace and reconstruction should be chosen by a clear majority of all the people and not a part of the people.

In the election of 1920 -- one of the most fateful elections in our history as it proved -- only forty-nine percent of the potential voters actually voted.

Thus more than one-half of American voters failed to do their basic duty as citizens.

We can be gratified (that) in recent years that the percentage of potential voters in national elections who actually voted has been steadily going up, but it is a slow process.

In 1940, it was sixty-two and a half percent.

And (But) that still is not nearly good enough.

This year, for many millions of our young men in the armed forces and the merchant marine and similar services, it will be difficult in many cases -- and impossible in some cases -- to register and vote.

I think the people will be able to fix the responsibility for this state of affairs, for they know that during this past year there were politicians and others who quite openly worked to restrict the use of the ballot in this election, hoping selfishly for a small vote.

It is, therefore, all the more important that we here at home must not be slackers on Registration Day or on Election Day.

I wish to make a special appeal to the women of the nation to exercise their right to vote. Women have taken an active part in this war in many ways -- in uniform, in plants and ship yards, in offices and stores and hospitals, on farms and on railroads and buses. (that) They have become more than ever a very integral part of our national effort.

I know how difficult it is, especially for the many millions of women now employed, to get away to register and vote. Many of them have to manage their households as well as their jobs, and a grateful nation remembers that.

But all women, whether employed directly in war jobs or not -- women of all parties, and those not enrolled in any party -- this year have a double obligation to express by their votes what I know to be their keen interest in the affairs of government -- their obligation to themselves as citizens, and their obligation to their fighting husbands, and sons, and brothers and sweethearts.

It may sound to you repetitious on my part, but it is my plain duty to reiterate to you that this war for the

preservation of our civilization is not won yet.

In the war, our forces and those of our Allies are steadily, relentlessly carrying the attack to the enemy.

The Allied Armies under General Eisenhower have waged during the past four months one of the most brilliant campaigns in military history -- a campaign that (which) has carried us from the beaches of Normandy and of Southern France into the frontiers of Germany itself.

In the Pacific, our naval task forces and our Army forces have advanced to attack the Japanese, more than five thousand miles west of Pearl Harbor.

But German and Japanese resistance remains as determined and as fanatical as ever.

The guns of Hitler's Gestapo are silencing those German officers who have sense enough to know that every day that the fighting continues means that much more ruin and destruction for their beaten country. We shall have to fight our way across the Rhine -- we may have to fight every inch of the way to Berlin.

But we Americans and our British and Russian and French and Polish Allies -- in fact, all the massed forces of the United Nations -- we will not stop short of our final goal.

Nor will all of our goals have been achieved when the shooting stops. We must be able to present to our returning heroes an America which is stronger and more prosperous, and more deeply devoted to the ways of democracy, than ever before.

"The land of opportunity" -- that's what our forefathers called this country. By God's grace, it must always be the land of opportunity for the individual citizen -- ever broader opportunity.

We have fought our way out of economic crisis -- we are fighting our way through the bitterest of all wars -- and our fighting men and women -- our plain, everyday citizens -- have a right to enjoy the fruits of victory.

Of course, all of us who have sons on active service overseas want to have our boys come home -- come home at the earliest possible moment consistent with our national safety. And they will come home and be returned to civilian life at the earliest possible moment consistent with our national safety.

The record is clear on this matter and dates back month on month (many months).

Bills to provide a national program for demobilization and postwar adjustment -- and I take an example -- were introduced by Senator George and Senator Murray last February -- nearly a year ago.

This legislation, since May 20, 1944, has contained the following provision, and I quote: "The War and Navy Departments shall not retain persons in the armed forces for the purpose of preventing unemployment or awaiting opportunities for employment."

And that (This) provision was approved by the War Department and by this Administration months ago.

On June twelfth, the Director of War Mobilization,

Justice Byrnes, made a public statement in behalf of this bill. He said: "Our fighting men are entitled to first consideration in any plan of demobilization. Their orderly release at the earliest possible moment consistent with the effective prosecution of the war, has ever been the primary consideration of both the President and the Joint Chiefs of Staff."

And (On) on September sixth, the War Department issued its plan for speedy demobilization, based on (upon) the wishes of the soldiers themselves.

Well, (The) the George Bill has been passed by the Congress. It has been signed by me. (and) It is now the law.

That law is there, for all Americans to read -- and you do not need legal training to understand it.

It seems a pity, a deep pity, that reckless words, based on unauthoritative sources, should be used by anyone to mislead and to weaken the morale of our men on the fighting fronts and the members of their families here at home.

When our enemies are finally defeated, we all want to see an end at the earliest practicable moment to wartime restrictions, to (and) wartime controls.

Strict provisions for the ending of these inconveniences have been written into our wartime laws. It seems to me it is largely a question of knowing the truth. Those who fear that wartime measures, like price and rent control and rationing, for example, might be continued indefinitely into peacetime, ought in common decency to (should) examine these laws. They will find that they are all temporary -- to expire either at

an early fixed date, or at the end of the war, or six months after the war, or even sooner if the Congress or the President so determines.

The American people do not need, and no national administration would dare to ask them, to tolerate for a minute any indefinite continuance in peacetime of the controls essential in war time.

The power of the will of the American people expressed through the free ballot that I have been talking about is the surest protection against the weakening of our democracy by "regimentation" or by any alien doctrines.

And likewise (It) it is a source of regret to all decent Americans that some political propagandists are now dragging red herrings across the trail of this national election.

For example, labor baiters, (and) bigots and some politicians use the term "communism" loosely, and apply it to every progressive social measure as (and to) the views of every foreign-born citizen with whom they disagree.

They forget that we in the United States are all descended from immigrants ((all except the Indians)); and there is no better proof of that fact than the heroic names on our casualty lists.

I have just been looking at a statement by a Member of the Congress, Representative Anderson, Chairman of the House Committee on Campaign Expenditures, about a document recently sent free, through the mails, by one Senator and twelve Representatives -- all of them Republicans. They evidently thought

highly of this document, for they had more than three million copies printed free by the Government Printing Office -- requiring more than eighteen tons of scarce (and expensive) paper -- and sent them through the mails all over the country at the taxpayers' expense.

Now -- let us look at this document to see what made it so important to thirteen Republican leaders at this stage of the war when many millions of our men are fighting for freedom.

Well -- this document says that the "Red spectre of communism -- I am quoting -- is stalking our country from East to West, from North to South" -- the charge being that the Roosevelt Administration is part of a gigantic plot to sell our democracy out to the communists.

This form of fear propaganda is not new among rabble rousers and fomenters of class hatred -- who seek to destroy democracy itself. It was used by Mussolini's black shirts and by Hitler's brown shirts. It has been used before in this country by the silver shirts and others on the lunatic fringe. But the sound and democratic instincts of the American people rebel against its use, particularly by their own Congressmen -- and at the taxpayers' expense.

I have never sought, and I do not welcome the support of any person or group committed to communism, or fascism, or any other foreign ideology which would undermine the American system of government, or the American system of free competitive enterprise and private property.

That does not in the least interfere with the firm and friendly relationship which this nation has in this war, and will, I hope, continue to have with the people of the Soviet Union. The kind of economy that suits the Russian people, I take it it is their own affair. The American people are glad and proud to be allied with the gallant people of Russia, not only in winning this war but in laying the foundations for the world peace which I hope will follow this (the) war -- and in keeping that peace.

We have seen our civilization in deadly peril. (We) Successfully we have met the challenge, due to the steadfastness of our Allies, to the aid we were able to give to our Allies, and to the unprecedented outpouring of American manpower, American productivity and American ingenuity -- and to the magnificent courage and enterprise of our fighting men and our military leadership.

What is now being won in battle must not be lost by lack of vision, or lack of knowledge, or (by) lack of faith, or by division among ourselves and our Allies.

We must and I hope we will continue to be united with our Allies in a powerful world organization which is ready and able to keep the peace -- if necessary by force.

To provide that assurance of international security is the policy, the effort and the obligation of this Administration.

We owe it to our posterity, we owe it to our heritage of freedom, we owe it to our God, to devote the rest of our

lives and all of our capabilities to the building of a solid,
durable structure of world peace.

Informal Remarks of the President at the State Dinner given
for General Henri Honore Giraud and his staff, July 9, 1943,
at about 9.25 P.M., E.W.T., in the State Dining Room of the
White House

I have just had word of the first attack against the soft underbelly of Europe.

I am going to ask you not to say anything about it after you leave here, until Midnight ends.

American and British forces, and some French observers, have attacked and landed in Sicily. The operations have just begun, and we won't get definite news until later in the day, but the news will be coming in all the time from now on.

This is a good illustration of the fact of planning, not the desire for planning but the fact of planning, which we have had since the administration began over a year ago in Washington. With the commencing of the expedition in North Africa with complete cooperation between the British and ourselves, that was followed by complete cooperation with the French in North Africa. The result, after landing, was the Battle of Tunis; and we all know the number of prisoners we took. That was not all planning, that was cooperation. From that time on we have been working in complete harmony, which in effect was the invasion of Europe, which is under way tonight.

There are a great many objectives, and of course

the major objective is the elimination of Germany -- that goes without saying -- the elimination of Germany out of the war. And as a result of this step which is in progress at this moment, we hope it is the beginning of the end. Last autumn, the Prime Minister of England called it "the end of the beginning." I think you can almost say that this action tonight is the beginning of the end.

We are going to be ashore in a naval sense -- air sense -- military. Once there, we have the opportunity of going in different directions, and I want to tell General Giraud that we haven't forgotten France as one of the directions.

One of our prime aims, of course, is the restoration of the people of France, and the sovereignty of France. Even if a move is not directed at this moment to France itself, General Giraud can rest assured that the ultimate objective -- we will do it, and in the best way -- is to liberate the people of France, not merely the southern part of France, just for a while, but the people of northern France -- Paris.

And in this whole operation, I should say rightly that in the enormous planning we have had the complete cooperation of the French military and naval forces in North Africa. Gradually the opposition cooled, and the older regime is breaking down. We have seen what has happened, or is happening at the present moment in Martinique and Guadalupe, and becoming worse. Well, that is a very major part toward the big objective. It is going to be worth working for. The

navy, the army, the merchant ships of Martinique, I hope, will be working with us day in and day out toward the unification -- the unity of all of our forces.

We haven't won the war yet, but one of the happy things is that with the help of General Giraud, in command of the French forces in North Africa, we have got a unified military situation. Well, that goes a long way; and that is why ever since my friend and I met at Casablanca last January, I became perfectly sure -- have for certain -- that under General Giraud's leadership the French military and naval forces in North Africa would more and more work with us, as we have done -- not all we want -- to help re-arm those French forces, and to build up the French strength so that when the time comes, from a military point of view, when we get into France itself and throw the Germans out, there will be a French army and French ships working with the British and ourselves. That is why it is a very great symbol that General Giraud is here tonight -- to come over here to talk to us about his military problems, toward the same objective that all the United Nations have gone -- the Freedom of France, and with it the unity of France.

So I think everybody here is very happy to drink with me to the success, health, and happiness of General Giraud.

(the toast was drunk, and then General Giraud -- in French -- thanked the President for the support that is being given France, expressing his deep gratitude for the

fact that through America's assistance re-armed soldiers of France would have their share in the liberation of their country. He lifted his glass to the health of the President, the glory of the United States, that great nation through which peace and freedom will be restored to the world)

(excerpts from these remarks were given to the press next day, for details of which please see Mr. Early's Press and Radio Conference of July 10, 1943)

ADDRESS of the President

Before The Chiefs Of The Diplomatic Missions From The
Other American Republics, On The Occasion Of
Columbus Day, October 12, 1944
Broadcast Nationally From The Oval Room
In The White House
At 4.00 p.m., e.w.t.

Ambassadors and Representatives of the American
Republics:

Today is (--) the birthday of the new world. The peoples of the American Republics are joining in paying tribute to the courage and vision of Christopher Columbus, whose name we honor and whose adventurous spirit we perpetuate.

The survival of that spirit is more important than ever, at this time when we are fighting a world war, (and) when we are building the solid, durable foundations for future world peace.

The little fleet with which Columbus first crossed the ocean took ten weeks for the voyage. And the crews of those (the) three ships totaled approximately ninety men.

Today -- every day -- many times that number of men and many tons of cargo are carried across the ocean by air -- they go across in a few hours. And by sea transport, an entire division of some fifteen thousand men can be sent across the Atlantic in one ship in one week.

When we remember the rapid development of aviation since the last war, we can look ahead to the coming years and know that all the airways across all the seas are going to

(will) be constant lines of communication and commerce.

Thus the margin between the Old World and the New World -- as we have been used to calling the hemispheres -- becomes constantly narrower. This means that if we do not now take effective measures to prevent another World War and if there were to be a Third World War, the lands of the Western Hemisphere would be as vulnerable to attack from Europe and Asia as were the Island of Crete and the Philippine Islands five years ago.

It is a significant fact (that) today that in Italy -- the homeland of Columbus -- forces from many parts of the (this) hemisphere and from many distant parts of the civilized world are fighting for freedom against the German and the Japanese threat of mediaeval tyranny.

Serving in the Allied Armies in Italy are men from (the) forty-eight United States, from the (United) Kingdom of Great Britain, and the Republic of France. But, we must remember -- this is the first anniversary in which we can say it -- there are also strong, well trained, well equipped forces from Brazil; there are units from Puerto Rico; there are Greeks, (and) there are Poles who have distinguished themselves in bitter fighting at Cassino and Ancona and Rimini; there are gallant men from Canada, and Ireland, and New Zealand, and South Africa, and India; there are combat teams composed of Americans of Japanese ancestry who came from Hawaii -- all providing an effective answer to the false Nazi claims of "Nordic superiority."

And there are also Italians themselves (bravely) fighting bravely for the liberation of their country. They are fighting in the Allied Armies, and they are fighting in the underground forces behind the German lines.

If the spirit of Columbus hovers over his native land today, we can be sure that he rejoices in the varied nature of the Allied forces. For he was one of the truly great internationalists of his day (all time).

During the past century, millions of Italians have come to the Western Hemisphere seeking freedom and opportunity. In Italy there is hardly a town or a village that does not contain families who have blood ties with the New World. This is one of the many reasons why the forces of liberation have been welcomed so cordially by the Italian people after twenty-two years of Fascism.

The Fascists and the Nazis sought to deceive and to divide the American Republics. They tried not only through propaganda from across the seas, but also through agents and spies and Fifth Columnists, operating all over the Western Hemisphere. But we know that they failed. The American Republics were not deceived by their protestations of peace and friendship; and they were not intimidated by their threats.

The people of the United States will never forget how the other American Republics, acting in accord with their pledges of solidarity, rallied to our common defense when the continent was violated by Axis treachery in an attack on this country. At that time Axis armies were still unchecked,

and even the stark threat of an invasion from Dakar hung over their (our) heads.

We have maintained the solidarity of the governments of all the American Republics -- except one. And the people of all (of) the Republics, I think without exception, will have the opportunity to share in the achievement of the common victory.

The bonds that unite the American Republics into a community of good neighbors must remain strong. We have not labored long and faithfully to build in this New World a system of international security and cooperation -- merely to let it be dissipated in any period of postwar indifference. Within the framework of the (world) organization -- this new world organization that we have heard so much of lately -- this world organization of the United Nations, which the governments and people of the American Republics are helping to establish, the inter-American system can and must play a strong and vital role.

Secretary Hull has told me of the conversations he has had with representatives of our sister Republics concerning the formation of a world security organization. We have received important and valuable expressions of opinions and views from many (several) of these governments. And I know that Secretary Hull, and Under Secretary Stettinius who led the United States delegation at Dumbarton Oaks, are looking forward to further exchanges of views with our Good Neighbors before the meeting of the general conference to establish the world organization. We must press forward to bring into existence this (world)

organization to maintain peace and security. There is no time to lose. And this time I think it is going to work.

It is our objective to establish the solid foundations of the peace organization without further delay, and without even waiting for the end of hostilities. There must, of course, be time for discussion by all the peace-loving nations -- large and small. We know that substantial progress has already been made, and it must be continued as rapidly as possible.

Like the Constitution of the United States, and many other Republics (itself), the Charter of the United Nations must not be static and inflexible, but must be adaptable to the changing conditions of progress -- social and economic and political -- all over the world.

So, in approaching the great problems of the future -- the future which we shall share in common with all the free peoples of this earth -- we shall do well to remember that we are the inheritors of the tradition of Christopher Columbus, the Navigator who ventured across uncharted seas.

I remember that when Columbus was about to set forth in the summer of 1492, he put in the beginning of his log-book the following words (wrote): "Above all, it is very important that I forget sleep, and that I labor much at navigation, because it is necessary."

We shall require -- all of us -- the same determination, the same devotion, as we steer our course through the great age of exploration, the age of (and) discovery that (which) lies before us.

ADDRESS of the President

On The Occasion Of His Acceptance Of The
Four Freedoms Award, In Behalf Of The Italian-American
Labor Council

Columbus Day, October 12, 1944

Broadcast Nationally From The White House

8.25 p.m., e.w.t.

President Antonini, Senator Wagner, Members and
Guests of the Italian American Labor Council:

For over twenty years we in America have watched with anxious eyes the steps taken by the Fascist gangsters to enslave the Italian people. The Italian people were thrown into an alliance which they detested. They were ordered, against their will, to fight on the side of their traditional enemies against their traditional friends.

Mussolini, the would-be Caesar, under-estimated the will of his people. Large numbers of them were brave enough to rally to our ranks. And as part of the Allied Armies, and behind the German lines, they have carried on our common fight for liberty.

The American army -- including thousands of Americans of Italian descent -- entered Italy not as conquerors -- but as liberators. Their objective is military, not political. When that military objective is accomplished -- and much of it has not yet been accomplished -- the Italian people will be free to work out their own destiny, under a government of their own choosing.

The act of the Attorney General -- removing the

status of enemy alien from Italians -- has been justified by their corresponding effort to help us wage war.

Of course, the people of Italy have suffered terribly and it will not be humanly possible this winter to take wholly adequate measures to relieve all suffering until Germany has been finally and decisively defeated. But the United Nations are determined that every possible measure be taken to aid the Italian people directly, and to give them an opportunity to help themselves.

The civilian administration has been fully discussed by me with the British Prime Minister. The British government is agreed that as the problem is great -- so also is our responsibility to help.

For example, the mails have been opened for letters to the liberated provinces. Facilities are now available for small remittances of funds from this country to individuals in Italy for their individual support. Shipments of food and clothing have been delivered, and much more is on the way. Normal life is being gradually introduced. We are taking every step possible to permit the early sending of individual packages by Americans to their loved ones and relatives in Italy. Our objective is to restore all avenues of trade and commerce and industry, and the free exercise of religion, at the earliest possible moment.

I am deeply grateful, therefore, for this award. It represents your appreciation both of the problems and the efforts of the American Government.

The Charter from which this award takes its name -- the Four Freedoms -- is a firm bond between the great peace-loving nations of the world, among which we count Italy. To the people of Italy we have pledged our help -- and we will keep the faith!

ADDRESS
OF THE
P R E S I D E N T
BROADCAST NATIONALLY
JULY 28, 1943
AT 9.30 P.M., E.W.T.

My fellow Americans:

Over a year and a half ago I said this to the Congress: "The militarists in Berlin, and Rome and Tokyo started this war, but the massed angered forces of common humanity will finish it."

Today that prophecy is in the process of being fulfilled. The massed, angered forces of common humanity are on the march. They are going forward -- on the Russian front, in the vast Pacific area, and into Europe -- converging upon their ultimate objectives: Berlin and Tokyo.

I think the first crack in the Axis has come. The criminal, corrupt Fascist regime in Italy is going to pieces.

The pirate philosophy of the Fascists and the Nazis cannot stand adversity. The military superiority of the United Nations -- on sea and land, and in the air -- has been applied in the right place and at the right time.

Hitler refused to send sufficient help to save Mussolini. In fact, Hitler's troops in Sicily stole the Italians' motor equipment, leaving Italian soldiers so stranded that they had no choice but to surrender. Once again the Germans betrayed their Italian allies, as they had done time and

time again on the Russian front and in the long retreat from Egypt, through Libya and Tripoli, to the final surrender in Tunisia.

And so Mussolini came to the reluctant conclusion that the "jig was up"; he could see the shadow of the long arm of justice.

But he and his Fascist gang will be brought to book, and punished for their crimes against humanity. No criminal will be allowed to escape by the expedient of "resignation."

So our terms to Italy are still the same as our terms to Germany and Japan -- "unconditional surrender."

We will have no truck with Fascism in any way, in any shape or manner. We will permit no vestige of Fascism to remain.

Eventually Italy will reconstitute herself. It will be the people of Italy who will do that, choosing their own government in accordance with the basic democratic principles of liberty and equality. In the meantime, the United Nations will not follow the pattern set by Mussolini and Hitler and the Japanese for the treatment of occupied countries -- the pattern of pillage and starvation.

We are already helping the Italian people in Sicily. With their cordial cooperation, we are establishing and maintaining security and order -- we are dissolving the organizations which have kept them under Fascist tyranny -- we are providing them with the necessities of life until the time comes when they can fully provide for themselves.

Indeed, the people in Sicily today are rejoicing in the fact that for the first time in years they are permitted to enjoy the fruits of their own labor(s) -- they can eat what they themselves grow, instead of having it stolen from them by the Fascists and the Nazis.

In every country conquered by the Nazis and the Fascists, or the Japanese militarists, the people have been reduced to the status of slaves or chattels.

It is our determination to restore these conquered peoples to the dignity of human beings, masters of their own fate, entitled to freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from want, and freedom from fear.

We have started to make good on that promise.

I am sorry if I step on the toes of those Americans who, playing party politics at home, call that kind of foreign policy "crazy altruism" and "starry-eyed dreaming."

Meanwhile, the war in Sicily and Italy goes on. It must go on, and will go on, until the Italian people realize the futility of continuing to fight in a lost cause -- a cause to which the people of Italy never gave their wholehearted approval and support.

It's (it is) a little over a year since we planned the North African campaign. It is six months since we planned the Sicilian campaign. I confess that I am of an impatient disposition, but I think that I understand and that most people understand the amount of time necessary to prepare for any major military or naval operation. We cannot just pick up

the telephone and order a new campaign to start the next week.

For example, behind the invasion forces in (of) North Africa, the invasion forces that went out of North Africa, were thousands of ships and planes guarding the long, perilous sea lanes, carrying the men, carrying the equipment and the supplies to the point of attack. And behind all these were the railroad lines and the highways here back home that carried the men and the munitions to the ports of embarkation -- there were the factories and the mines and the farms here back home that turned out the materials -- there were the training camps here back home where the men learned how to perform the strange and difficult and dangerous tasks which were to meet them on the beaches and in the deserts and in the mountains.

All this had to be repeated, first in North Africa and then in (in the attack on) Sicily. Here the factor -- in Sicily -- the factor of air attack was added -- for we could use North Africa as the base for softening up the landing places and lines of defense in Sicily, and the lines of supply in Italy.

It is interesting for us to realize that every flying fortress that bombed harbor installations at, for example, Naples, bombed it from its base in North Africa, required 1,110 gallons of gasoline for each single mission, and that this is the equal of about 375 "A" ration tickets -- enough gas to drive your car five times across this continent. You will better understand your part in the war -- and what

gasoline rationing means -- if you multiply this by the gasoline needs of thousands of planes and hundreds of thousands of jeeps, and trucks and tanks that are now serving overseas.

I think that the personal convenience of the individual, or the individual family back home here in the United States will appear somewhat less important when I tell you that the initial assault force on Sicily involved 3,000 ships which carried 160,000 men -- Americans, British, Canadians and French -- together with 14,000 vehicles, 600 tanks, and 1,800 guns. And this initial force was followed every day and every night by thousands of reinforcements.

The meticulous care with which the operation in Sicily was planned has paid dividends. (For) Our casualties in men, in ships and materiel have been low -- in fact, far below our estimate.

And all of us are proud of the superb skill and courage of the officers and men who have conducted and are conducting those (this) operations. The toughest resistance developed on the front of the British Eighth Army, which included the Canadians. But that is no new experience for that magnificent fighting force which has made the Germans pay a heavy price for each hour of delay in the final victory. The American Seventh Army, after a stormy landing on the exposed beaches of Southern Sicily, swept with record speed across the island into the capital at Palermo. For many of our troops this was their first battle experience, but they have carried themselves like veterans.

And we must give credit for the coordination of the diverse forces in the field, and for the planning of the whole campaign, to the wise and skillful leadership of General Eisenhower. Admiral Cunningham, General Alexander and Air Marshal Tedder have been towers of strength in handling the complex details of naval and ground and air activities.

You have heard some people say that the British and the Americans can never get along well together -- you have heard some people say that the Army and the Navy and the Air Forces can never get along well together -- that real cooperation between them is impossible. Tunisia and Sicily have given the lie, once and for all, to these narrow-minded prejudices.

The dauntless fighting (spirit) of the British people in this war has been expressed in the historic words and deeds of Winston Churchill -- and the world knows how the American people feel about him.

Ahead of us are much bigger fights. We and our Allies will go into them as we went into Sicily -- together. And we shall carry on together.

Today our production of ships is almost unbelievable. This year we are producing over nineteen million tons of merchant shipping and next year our production will be over twenty-one million tons. And in addition to our shipments across the Atlantic, we must realize that in this war we are operating in the Aleutians, in the distant parts of the Southwest Pacific, in India, and off the shores of South America.

For several months we have been losing fewer ships by sinkings, and we have been destroying more and more U-boats. We hope this will continue. But we cannot be sure. We must not lower our guard for one single instant.

An example -- a (One) tangible result of our great increase in merchant shipping -- which I think will be good news to civilians at home -- is that tonight we are able to terminate the rationing of coffee. And we also expect (that) within a short time we shall get greatly increased allowances of sugar.

Those few Americans who grouse and complain about the inconveniences of life here in the United States should learn some lessons from the civilian populations of our Allies -- Britain, and China, and Russia -- and of all the lands occupied by our common enemy (enemies).

The heaviest and most decisive fighting today is going on in Russia. I am glad that the British and we have been able to contribute somewhat to the great striking power of the Russian armies.

In 1941-1942 the Russians were able to retire without breaking, to move many of their war plants from western Russia far into the interior, to stand together with complete unanimity in the defense of their homeland.

The success of the Russian armies has shown that it is dangerous to make prophecies about them -- a fact which has been forcibly brought home to that mystic master of strategic intuition, Herr Hitler.

The short-lived German offensive, launched early this month, was a desperate attempt to bolster the morale of the German people. The Russians were not fooled by this. They went ahead with their own plans for attack -- plans which coordinate with the whole United Nations' offensive strategy.

The world has never seen greater devotion, determination and self-sacrifice than have been displayed by the Russian people and their armies, under the leadership of Marshal Joseph Stalin.

With a nation which in saving itself is thereby helping to save all the world from the Nazi menace, this country of ours should always be glad to be a good neighbor and a sincere friend in the world of the future.

In the Pacific, we are pushing the Japs around from the Aleutians to New Guinea. There too we have taken the initiative -- and we are not going to let go of it.

It becomes clearer and clearer that the attrition, the whittling down process against the Japanese is working. The Japs have lost more planes and more ships than they have been able to replace.

The continuous and energetic prosecution of the war of attrition will drive the Japs back from their over-extended line running from Burma (and Siam) and the Straits Settlement and Siam through the Netherlands Indies to eastern New Guinea and the Solomons. And we have good reason to believe that their shipping and their air power cannot support such outposts.

Our naval and land and air strength in the Pacific is constantly growing. And if the Japanese are basing their future plans for the Pacific on a long period in which they will be permitted to consolidate and exploit their conquered resources, they had better start revising their plans now. I give that to them merely as a helpful suggestion.

We are delivering planes and vital war supplies for the heroic armies of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, and we must do more at all costs.

Our air supply line from India to China across enemy territory continues despite attempted Japanese interference. We have seized the initiative from the Japanese in the air over Burma and now we enjoy superiority. We are bombing Japanese communications, supply dumps, and bases in China, in Indo-China, in (and) Burma.

But we are still far from our main objectives in the war against Japan. Let us remember, however, how far we were a year ago from any of our objectives in the European theatre. We are pushing forward to occupation of positions which in time will enable us to attack the Japanese Islands themselves from the North, from the South, from the East, and from the West.

You have heard it said that while we are succeeding greatly on the fighting front, we are failing miserably on the home front. I think this is another of those immaturities -- a false slogan easy to state but untrue in the essential facts.

For the longer this war goes on the clearer it becomes that no one can draw a blue pencil down the middle of a page and call one side "the fighting front" and the other side "the home front." For the two of them are inexorably tied together.

Every combat division, every naval task force, every squadron of fighting planes is dependent for its equipment and ammunition and fuel and food, as indeed it is for its manpower, dependent on the American people in civilian clothes in the offices and in the factories and on the farms at home.

The same kind of careful planning that gained victory in North Africa and Sicily is required, if we are to make victory an enduring reality and do our share in building the kind of peaceful world that (which) will justify the sacrifices made in this war.

The United Nations are substantially agreed on the general objectives for the post-war world. They are also agreed that this is not the time to engage in an international discussion of all the terms of peace and all the details of the future. Let us win the war first. We must not relax our pressure on the enemy by taking time out to define every boundary and settle every political controversy in every part of the world. The important thing -- the all-important thing now is to get on with the war -- and to win it.

While concentrating on military victory, we are not neglecting the planning of the things to come, the freedoms which we know will make for more decency and greater justice

throughout the world.

Among many other things we are, today, laying plans for the return to civilian life of our gallant men and women in the armed services. They must not be demobilized into an environment of inflation and unemployment, to a place on a bread line, or on a corner selling apples. We must, this time, have plans ready -- instead of waiting to do a hasty, inefficient, and ill-considered job at the last moment.

I have assured our men in the armed forces that the American people would not let them down when the war is won.

I hope that the Congress will help in carrying out this assurance, for obviously the Executive Branch of the Government cannot do it alone. May the Congress do its duty in this regard. The American people will insist on fulfilling this American obligation to the men and women in the armed forces who are winning this war for us.

Of course, the returning soldier and sailor and marine are a part of the problem of demobilizing the rest of the millions of Americans who have been (working and) living in a war economy since 1941. That larger objective of reconverting wartime America to a peacetime basis is one for which your government is laying plans to be submitted to the Congress for action.

But the members of the armed forces have been compelled to make greater economic sacrifice and every other kind of sacrifice than the rest of us, and they are entitled to definite action to help take care of their special problems.

The least to which they are entitled, it seems to me, is something like this:

First (1.) Muster-out pay to every member of the armed forces and merchant marine when he or she is honorably discharged, muster-out pay large enough in each case to cover a reasonable period of time between his discharge and the finding of a new job.

Secondly (2.) In case no job is found after diligent search, then unemployment insurance if the individual registers with the United States Employment Service.

Third (3.) An opportunity for members of the armed services to get further education or trade training at the cost of their government.

Fourth (4.) Allowance of credit to all members of the armed forces, under unemployment compensation and Federal old-age and survivors' insurance, for their period of service. For these purposes they ought to (should) be treated as if they had continued their employment in private industry.

Fifth (5.) Improved and liberalized provisions for hospitalization, for rehabilitation, for (and) medical care of disabled members of the armed forces and the merchant marine.

And finally (6.), sufficient pensions for disabled members of the armed forces.

Your Government is drawing up other serious, constructive plans for certain immediate forward moves. They concern food, manpower, and other domestic problems that (but they) tie in with our armed forces.

Within a few weeks I shall speak with you again in regard to definite actions to be taken by the Executive Branch of the Government, together with (and) specific recommendations for new legislation by the Congress.

All our calculations for the future, however, must be based on clear understanding of the problems involved. And that can be gained only by straight thinking -- not guess work, not (or) political manipulation.

I confess that I myself am sometimes bewildered by conflicting statements that I see in the press. One day I read an "authoritative" statement that we will (shall) win the war this year, 1943 -- and the next day comes another statement equally "authoritative," that the war will still be going on in 1949.

Of course, both extremes -- of optimism and pessimism -- are wrong.

The length of the war will depend upon the uninterrupted continuance of all-out effort on the fighting fronts and here at home, and that (The) effort is all one.

The American soldier doesn't (not) like the necessity of waging war. And yet -- if he lays off for a (one) single instant he may lose his own life and sacrifice the lives of his comrades.

By the same token -- a worker hereat home may not like the driving, wartime conditions under which he has to work and (or) live. And yet -- if he gets complacent or indifferent and slacks on his job, he too may sacrifice the lives

of American soldiers and contribute to the loss of an important battle.

The next time anyone says to you that this war is "in the bag," or says (and) "it's all over but the shouting," you should ask him these questions:

"Are you working full time on your job?"

"Are you growing all the food you can?"

"Are you buying your limit of war bonds?"

"Are you loyally and cheerfully cooperating with your Government in preventing inflation and profiteering, and in making rationing work with fairness to all?"

"Because -- if your answer is 'No' -- then the war is going to last a lot longer than you think."

The plans we made for the knocking out of Mussolini and his gang have largely succeeded. But we still have to knock out Hitler and his gang, and Tojo and his gang. No one of us pretends that this will be an easy matter.

We still have to defeat Hitler and Tojo on their own home grounds. But this will require a far greater concentration of our national energy and our ingenuity and our skill.

It isn't (not) too much to say that we must pour into this war the entire strength and intelligence and will power of the United States. We are a great nation -- a rich nation -- but we are not so great or so rich that we can afford to waste our substance or the lives of our men by relaxing along the way.

We shall not settle for less than total victory.

That is the determination of every American on the fighting fronts. That must be, and will be, the determination of every American here at home.

ADDRESS of the President

In Connection with the National War Fund

Broadcast Nationally from the White House

October 17, 1944, at 10.30 p.m., e.w.t.

My friends: Once again I come to you on behalf of your community war fund, united with the National War Fund in a common federated appeal for us and for our Allies. ("for our own and for our Allies.")

This year, more than ever, we need the friendly aid and assistance of all these great humanitarian agencies for our fighting forces, for the long-suffering peoples of the United Nations and for those in need among our neighbors here at home. These united services can bring us one step further (farther) in our fight for decency, humanity and goodwill towards men.

Through a single gift to this united appeal we are able to extend the hand of friendship to millions of people at home and around the world -- to perform millions of acts of kindness.

Through this one gift we show the warmth of our affection for our men and women in uniform by providing them with the home comforts and the conveniences of the USO -- and, to those whose service has been fulfilled, a friendly hand in getting adjusted to civilian life all over again. Through USO-Camp Shows, one of the great institutions of this war, we bring the spirit-refreshing tonic of good American entertainment to every camp, every military hospital, and every

fighting front.

Through this same gift we also support United Seamen's Service, providing rest and relaxation for our merchant seamen -- the men who are bringing the convoys through.

And we help to keep up the spirits of the homesick and heartsick prisoners of war -- with the music, and the books, the sports and games provided by War Prisoners Aid.

It is through this gift that we send a token of our own personal friendship to the tragic victims of brute slavery and to those who have so long borne the burden of fighting this war -- the hungry, the sick and the homeless peoples of China, and Russia, and Britain, and Belgium, and France, Greece, Norway, Poland, The Netherlands, the Philippines, and other friends and neighbors in the community of nations. This personal gift made by you, this token of sympathy and appreciation, is much more than the mere money (monetary) assistance.

The great warmhearted goodwill, that you have expressed through these funds, has helped immeasurably to revive the spirit of faith and hope in many lands across the seas -- and in many homes back here -- where there has (had) been bitterness and hatred after (the) years of war and oppression.

Wherever our boys in the services ("G I's") go, they are welcomed not only as liberators but as good friends. Wherever they go, their presence spells "America," and that is a word now more beloved, I think, by (of) more millions of people throughout the world than ever before in all our history.

And finally -- through this united gift we contribute to the important wartime job at home of taking good care of our children and our young people -- giving a helping hand to our neighbor down the street -- maintaining standards of welfare worthy of the great efforts of our fighting forces.

This gift of friendship -- this participation in our community war appeal -- is one war job we are not compelled to do, but it is one that we all willingly wish to do. This is typical of democracy at its best.

In these days, as we begin to see the approach of victory, it may seem more of a burden to us to measure up to our war jobs and responsibilities. Our gift to our community war fund is one way to show that there is no letdown in the spirit and the unity of this country. This gift -- this expression of our own free will -- speaks from the heart of the nation.

Because of this, I know that this appeal will be met gladly and generously. I know that it (we) will re-affirm our concern for our own and for our Allies.

We cannot let them down now! I know that we will keep faith with them, as they are keeping it with us, until their job is done. I know that we will all have a great sense of pride on that glad day of their return -- which we are trying to make as speedy as possible -- when they shake us by the hand and say, "Thanks for helping, friend. In many ways, it meant a lot to us out there!"

And so, I ask your support -- your support in a

big way -- a way that will count.

INFORMAL REMARKS of the President

At The Business Men's Rally For Senator Robert F. Wagner

At Ebbets Field, Brooklyn, N. Y.

October 21, 1944, at 11.00 a.m., e.w.t.

I wanted to come here for two reasons. You know I come from the State of New York, and I have made a series of inspection tours here. I come from the State of New York and I practised law in New York City, but I have never been to Ebbets Field before. (applause) I have rooted for the Dodgers. (applause) And I hope to come back here some day and see them play.

But the chief reason I came here today is to pay a little tribute to my old friend Bob Wagner. (applause) We were together in the legislature -- I would hate to say how long ago -- thirty-some years ago, in the Senate of the State of New York, and we have been close friends ever since, I think largely because we had the same ideals of being of service to our fellow men. (applause)

If anybody knew and could visualize all the way through the help that Bob Wagner has been to mankind, there wouldn't be any question about asking him to go back to the Senate for six years more, to carry on the splendid service that he has rendered. (applause)

And so I just came here to say that word in his behalf. He deserves well of mankind.

Thanks ever so much. (applause)

HOLD FOR RELEASE

HOLD FOR RELEASE

HOLD FOR RELEASE

August 12, 1943

NOTE: The following is the text of a radio address (recorded) by the President to the people of the Philippines. It MUST BE HELD IN CONFIDENCE until it is released.

CAUTION: Release is for the MORNING papers of Friday, August 13th, in editions appearing on the streets NOT EARLIER THAN 8:00 P.M., E.W.T., Thursday, August 12, 1943.

The same release also applies to radio.

STEPHEN EARLY
Secretary to the President

TO THE PEOPLE OF THE PHILIPPINES:

On December 28, 1941, three weeks after the armies of the Japanese launched their attack on Philippine soil, I sent a proclamation to you, the gallant people of the Philippines. I said then:

"I give to the people of the Philippines my solemn pledge that their freedom will be redeemed and their independence established and protected. The entire resources in men and materials of the United States stand behind that pledge."

We shall keep this promise, just as we have kept every promise which America has made to the Filipino people.

The story of the fighting on Bataan and Corregidor -- and, indeed, everywhere in the Philippines -- will be remembered so long as men continue to respect bravery, and devotion, and determination. Then the Filipino people resisted the Japanese invaders with their very lives, they gave final proof that here was a nation fit to be respected as the equal to any on earth, not in size or wealth, but in the stout heart and national dignity which are the true measures of a people.

That is why the United States, in practice, regards your lawful Government as having the same status as the Governments of other independent nations. That is why I have looked upon President Quezon and Vice President Osmeña, not only as old friends, but also as trusted collaborators in our united task of destroying our common enemies in the East as well as in the West.

The Philippine Government is a signatory of the Declaration by the United Nations, along with thirty-one other nations. President Quezon and Vice President Osmeña attend the meetings of the Pacific War Council, where the war in the Pacific is charted and planned. Your Government has participated fully and equally in the United Nations Conference on Food and Agriculture, and a Philippine representative is a member of the Interim Commission created by that Conference. And, of course, the Philippine Government will have its rightful place in the conferences which will follow the defeat of Japan.

These are the attributes of complete and respected nationhood for the Philippines, not a promise but a fact.

As President Quezon himself has told you, "The only thing lacking is the formal establishment of the Philippine Republic." These words of your President were uttered to you with my prior knowledge and approval. I now repeat them to you myself. I give

the Filipino people my word that the Republic of the Philippines will be established the moment the power of our Japanese enemies is destroyed. The Congress of the United States has acted to set up the independence of the Philippines. The time will come quickly when that goes into full effect. You will soon be redeemed from the Japanese yoke and you will be assisted in the full repair of the ravages caused by the war.

We shall fight with ever-increasing strength and vigor until that end is achieved. Already Japan is tasting defeat in the islands of the Southwest Pacific. But that is only the beginning.

I call upon you, the heroic people of the Philippines to stand firm in your faith -- to stand firm against the false promises of the Japanese, just as your fighting men and our fighting men stood firm together against their barbaric attacks.

The great day of your liberation will come, as surely as there is a God in Heaven.

The United States and the Philippines have learned the principles of honest cooperation, of mutual respect, in peace and in war.

For those principles we have fought -- and by those principles we shall live.

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ADDRESS Of The President
Before The Foreign Policy Association
After The Dinner Held In The Waldorf Astoria Hotel
In New York City
October 21, 1944, at 9.30 p.m., e.w.t.
Broadcast Nationally

General McCoy, my old friend -- Ladies and Gentle-
men:

Tonight I am speaking as a guest of the Foreign Policy Association -- a nationwide organization, a distinguished organization composed of Americans of every (all) shade(s) of political opinion.

I am going to talk about (our) American foreign policy. I am going to talk(ing) without rancor, (or) without snap judgment.

And I am going to talk (speaking) without losing my head (temper) or losing my temper (head). (laughter)

When the first World War was ended -- it seems like a long time ago -- I believed -- I believe now -- that enduring peace in the world has not a chance unless this nation -- our America -- is willing to cooperate in winning it and maintaining it. (applause) I thought back in those days of 1918 and 1919 (then) -- and I know now -- that we have to back our American words with American deeds. (applause)

A quarter of a century ago we helped to save our freedom, but we failed to organize the kind of world in which future generations could live (in) -- with freedom.

Opportunity knocks again. There is no guarantee that opportunity (it) will knock a third time. (applause)

Today, Hitler and the Nazis continue the fight -- desperately, inch by inch, and may continue to do so all the way to Berlin.

And, by the way, we have another important engagement in Tokyo. (laughter and applause) No matter how (long or) hard, how long the road we must travel, our forces will fight their way (there) under the leadership of MacArthur and Nimitz. (applause)

All of our thinking about foreign policy in this war must be conditioned by the fact that millions of our American boys are today fighting, many thousands of miles from home, for the first objective: defense of our country; and the second objective, the perpetuation of our American ideals. And there are still many hard and bitter battles to be fought.

The leaders of this nation have always held time out of mind that concern for our national security does not end at our borders. President Monroe and every American President following him were prepared to use force, if necessary, to assure the independence of other American nations threatened by aggressors from across the seas.

That (The) principle, we have learned from childhood, has not changed. (,though) The world has. Wars are no longer fought from horseback, or from the decks of sailing ships.

It was with recognition of that fact (that) away back in 1933 we took, as the basis of (for) our foreign relations,

the Good Neighbor policy -- the policy, the principle of the neighbor who, resolutely respecting himself, equally respects the rights of others. (applause)

We and the other American republics have made the Good Neighbor policy real -- real in this hemisphere. And I want to say tonight that it is my conviction that this policy can be, and should be, made universal throughout the world. (applause)

At inter-American conferences, beginning at Montevideo in 1933, and continuing down to date, we have made it clear -- clear to this hemisphere at least, and I think to most of the world, that the United States of America practices what it preaches (we practice what we preach). (applause)

Our action in 1934, for example, with respect to Philippine independence was another step in making good the same philosophy that (which) animated the Good Neighbor policy of the year before.

And, as I said two years ago, "I like to think that the history of the Philippine Islands in the last forty-four years provides in a very real sense a pattern for the future of other small nations, (and) other small peoples in (of) the world. It's (It is) a pattern of what men of good will look forward to in the future to come."

And I cite as an illustration (I cite another early action) in the field of foreign policy (of which) something that I am proud of. That was the recognition in 1933 of Soviet Russia. (applause)

And may I add a personal word. In 1933, a certain

lady -- who sits at this table in front of me -- came back from
a trip on which she had attended the opening of a schoolhouse.
And she had gone to the history class -- history and geography --
children eight, nine or ten, and she told me that she had seen
there a map of the world with a great big white space upon it --
no name -- no information. And the teacher told her that it was
blank, with no name, because the school board wouldn't let her
say anything about that big blank space. (laughter) Oh, there
were only a hundred and eighty to two hundred million people in
it, which was called Soviet Russia. And there were a lot of
children, and they were told that the teacher was forbidden by
the school board even to put the name of that blank space on the
map. (more laughter)

For sixteen years before then, the American people and the Russian people had no practical means of communicating with each other. We re-established those means. And today we are fighting with the Russians against common foes -- and we know that the Russian contribution to victory has been, and will continue to be, gigantic. (applause)

However -- and we have to take a lot of things -- certain politicians, now very prominent in the Republican Party -- (laughter) -- have condemned our recognition.

I am impelled to wonder how Russia would have survived -- survived against the German attack if these same people had had their way.

After the last war -- in the political campaign of 1920 -- the isolationist Old Guard professed to be enthusiastic

about international cooperation. And I remember very well, because I was running on the issue at that time.

While campaigning for votes in that year of 1920, Senator Harding said that he favored with all his heart an Association of Nations "so organized (and) so participated in -- I am quoting the language -- as to make the actual attainment of peace a reasonable possibility."

However -- and this is history, too -- (laughter) -- after President Harding's election, the Association of Nations was never heard of again.

However, we have got to look at people -- this is a human world of ours. One of the leading isolationists who killed international cooperation in 1920 was an old friend of mine, and I think he supported me two or three times -- I have forgotten which -- Senator Hiram Johnson. Now, in the event of Republican victory in the Senate this year -- 1944 -- that same Senator Johnson -- who is still a friend of mine -- he would be Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. And I hope that (I know) the American voters will bear that in mind.
(laughter and applause)

And it's a fact -- a plain fact -- all you have to do is to go back through the files of the newspapers -- during the years that (which) followed 1920, the foreign policy of the Republican Administrations was dominated by the heavy hand of isolationism.

Much of the strength of our Navy -- and I ought to know it -- was scuttled; and some of the Navy's resources

were handed over to friends in private industry -- as in the unforgettable case of Teapot Dome.

Tariff walls went higher and higher -- blocking international trade.

There was snarling at our former Allies, and at the same time encouragement was given to American finance to invest two and one-half billion dollars in Germany, our former enemy.

All petitions that this nation join (in) the World Court were rejected or ignored.

We know that after this Administration took office, Secretary Hull and I asked replaced high tariffs with a series of reciprocal trade agreements under a statute of the Congress. The Republicans in the Congress opposed those agreements -- and tried to stop the extension of the law every three years. I am just talking about votes.

In 1935 I asked the Congress to join the World Court. It so happens, and I put it that way then, the Democrats in the Senate at that time voted for it forty-three to twenty -- two thirds. The Republicans voted against it fourteen to nine. And the result was that (Thus) we were prevented from obtaining the necessary two-thirds majority. I did my best.

In 1937, I asked that aggressor nations be quarantined. (--) For this I was branded by isolationists in and out of public office as an "alarmist" and a "war-monger."

From that time on, as you well know, I made clear by repeated messages to the (American) Congress of the United States, (and) by repeated statements to the American people, the

danger threatening from abroad -- and the need of re-arming to meet it.

Why, for example, in July, (19) '39, I tried to obtain a repeal of the Arms Embargo provisions in the Neutrality Law that (which) tied our hands -- tied us against selling arms to the European democracies in (for) defense against Hitler and Mussolini.

Now I remember very well, I have got my notes on it, somewhere in my memoirs, the late Senator Borah told a group, which I called -- all parties -- together in the White House, that his own private information from abroad was better than that of the State Department of the United States -- and that there would be no war in Europe.

And as it was made plain to Mr. Hull and me (that) -- and it was made plain to us at that time -- that because of the isolationist vote in the Congress of the United States, we could not possibly hope to obtain (attain) the desired revision of the Neutrality Law.

Now this fact was also made plain to Adolf Hitler. A few weeks later, after Borah said that to me, he brutally attacked Poland -- and the second World War began (had begun).

Let's get on. In 1941, this Administration proposed and the Congress passed, in spite of isolationist opposition, a thing called the Lend-Lease Law -- the (a) practical and dramatic notice to the world that we intended -- that we intended to help those nations resisting aggression.

Bringing it down to date -- these days -- and now

I am (now) speaking of October, 1944 -- I hear voices in (on) the air attacking me for my "failure" to prepare this nation for this war, (and) to warn the American people of the approaching tragedy.

It is rather interesting as a side thought that these same voices were not so very audible five years ago -- or even four years ago -- giving warning of the grave peril which we then faced.

There have been, and there still are, in the Republican Party, distinguished men and women of vision and courage, both in and out of public office, men and women who have vigorously supported our aid to our Allies and all the measures that we took to build up our national defense. And many of these Republicans have rendered magnificent services -- services to our country in this war as members of my (this) Administration. (applause) And I am happy that one of these distinguished Americans is sitting here at this table tonight, our great Secretary of War -- Henry Stimson. (prolonged cheers and applause)

And let us always remember that this very war might have been averted if Harry (Mr.) Stimson's views had prevailed when, in 1931, the Japanese ruthlessly attacked and raped Manchuria. (applause)

Let us analyze it a little more. The majority of the Republican members of the Congress voted -- I am just giving you a few figures, not many -- voted against the Selective Service Law in 1940; they voted against repeal of the Arms Embargo in 1939; they voted against the Lend-Lease Law in (19) '41,

and they voted in August, 1941, against extension of the Selective Service -- which meant voting against keeping our Army together, as it was going on then -- four months before Pearl Harbor.

You see, I am quoting history to you. I am going by the record. And I am giving you the whole story and not (merely) a phrase here and half a phrase there. (laughter, and prolonged cheers and applause)

In my reading copy there's another half sentence.
(laughter) You've got the point and I'm not going to use it.
(more laughter)

(picked out of context in such a way that they distort the facts.)

You know, I happen to believe -- I'm sort of old-fashioned, I guess I'm old -- (laughter) -- that, even in a political campaign, we ought to (should all) obey that ancient injunction -- Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor. (cheers and applause)

Now, the question of the men who will formulate and carry out the foreign policy of this country is in issue in this country (election) -- very much in issue. It is in issue not in terms of partisan application, but in terms of sober, solemn facts -- the facts that are on the record.

If the Republicans were to win control of the Congress in this election -- and it is only two weeks from next Tuesday, and I occupy the curious position of being President of the United States, and at the same time a candidate for the

Presidency -- (laughter) -- if the Republicans were to win control of the Congress, inveterate isolationists would occupy positions of commanding influence and power. That is record too.

I have already spoken of the ranking Republican member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Senator Hiram Johnson.

One of the most influential members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee -- a man who would also be the chairman of the powerful Senate Committee on Appropriations -- is Senator Gerald P. Nye. (boos, and laughter)

Well, I am not going back to the old story of the last Presidential campaign: Martin and Barton and Fish -- (laughter, with the audience repeating after him) -- one of them has gone! (more laughter) But, in the House of Representatives, the man who is the present leader of the Republicans there, another friend of mine, and who undoubtedly would be Speaker, is Joseph W. Martin. He voted -- I am just giving you examples -- he voted against the Repeal of the Arms Embargo, he voted against the Lend-Lease Bill, against the extension of the Selective Service Law, against the arming of merchant ships, (and) against the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act, and their extensions.

The Chairman of the powerful Committee on Rules is the other one and would be none other than Hamilton Fish. (Boos, and laughter)

These (There) are like a lot of (many) others (like them) in the Congress of the United States -- (and) every one of them is now actively campaigning for the national

Republican ticket this year.

Can anyone really suppose that these isolationists have changed their minds about world affairs? That's a real question. Politicians who embraced the policy of isolationism, and (--) or who never raised their voices against it in our days of peril, I don't think they are (not) reliable custodians of the future of America. (cheers and applause)

Let's be fair. There have been Democrats in the isolationist camp, but they have been relatively few and far between, and so far they have not attained great positions of leadership.

And I am proud of the fact that this Administration does not have the support of the isolationist press. (applause) You know, for about a half-century I have been accustomed to naming names. (laughter) (--) and I mean specifically, to take the glaring examples, the McCormick -- (boos) -- Patterson -- (boos) -- (Hearst) -- Gannett -- (boos) -- and Hearst press. (louder boos)

You know, the American people have gone through great national debates in the recent critical years. They were soul-searching debates. They reached from every city to every village and (to) every home.

We have debated our principles, (and) our determination to aid those fighting for freedom.

Obviously, we could have come to terms with Hitler, (and) we could have accepted a minor role in his totalitarian world. We rejected that!

We could have compromised with Japan, and bargained for a place in the (a) Japanese-dominated Asia -- the Japanese-dominated Pacific, by selling out the heart's blood of the Chinese people. And we rejected that! (applause)

As I look back, I am more and more certain that the decision not to bargain with the tyrants rose from the hearts and souls and sinews of the American people. (applause) They faced reality; they appraised reality; (and) they knew what freedom meant.

The power which this nation has attained -- (the moral), the political, the economic, (and) the military, and above all the moral power -- has brought to us the responsibility, and with it the opportunity, for leadership in the community of nations. It is our (In our) own best interest, and in the name of peace and humanity, this nation cannot, must not, and will not shirk that responsibility. (applause)

Now, there are some who hope to see a structure of peace, a structure of peace completely set up -- set up immediately, with all the apartments assigned to everybody's (everyone's) satisfaction, with the telephones in, and the plumbing complete -- (laughter) -- the heating system, (and) the electric ice boxes all functioning perfectly, all furnished with linen and silver -- and with the rent pre-paid. (laughter)

The United Nations have not yet produced such a comfortable dwelling place. But we have achieved a very practical expression of a common purpose on the part of four great nations, who are now united to wage this war, that they will

embark together after the war on a greater and more difficult enterprise, an enterprise (--- that) of waging peace. We will embark on it with all the peace-loving nations of the world -- large and small.

And our objective, as I stated ten days ago, is to complete the organization of the United Nations without delay, (and) before hostilities actually cease. (applause)

You know, peace, like war, can succeed only when there's (where there is) a will to enforce it, and where there's (there is) available power to enforce it.

The Council of the League of Nations -- of the United Nations must have the power to act quickly and decisively to keep the peace by force, if necessary. (applause) I live in a small town, and I always thinkin small town -- that this goes to small towns as well as big towns. A policeman would not be a very effective policeman if, when he saw a felon break into a house, he had to go to the Town Hall and call a town meeting to issue a warrant before the felon could be arrested. (laughter and applause)

So to my simple mind it is clear that, if the world organization is to have any reality at all, our American representative must be endowed in advance by the people themselves, by constitutional means through their representatives in (the) Congress, with authority to act. (applause)

If we do not catch the international felon when we have our hands on him, if we let him get away with his loot because the Town Council has not passed an ordinance authorizing

his arrest, then we are not doing our share to prevent another World War. (applause) I think, and I have had some experience, that the people of this (the) Nation want their Government to work, they want their Government to act, and not merely (to) talk, whenever and wherever there's (there is) a threat to world peace. (applause)

Now, it's obvious that we cannot attain our great objectives by ourselves. Never again, after cooperating with other nations in a world war to save our way of life, can we wash our hands of maintaining the peace for which we fought. (applause)

The Dumbarton Oaks Conference didn't (not) spring up overnight. It was called by Secretary Hull and me after years of thought, discussion, preparation, (and) consultation with our Allies. Our State Department did a grand (splendid) job in preparing for the Conference and leading it to a successful termination. It was just another chapter in the long process of cooperation with other peace-loving nations -- beginning with the Atlantic Charter (Conference) -- that's a long time ago -- and continuing through Conferences at Casablanca, Moscow, Cairo, Teheran, and Quebec and Washington.

It is my profound conviction that the American people as a whole have a very real understanding of these things.

The American people know that Cordell Hull and I are thoroughly conversant with the Constitution of the United States -- (laughter) -- and know that we cannot commit this Nation to any secret treaties or any secret guarantees that (which) are in violation of that Constitution.

After my return from Teheran, I stated officially that no secret commitments had been made. The issue then is between my veracity and the continuing assertions of those who have no responsibility in the foreign field -- or, perhaps I should say, a field foreign to them. (laughter, and prolonged applause)

(The peace structure which we are building must depend on foundations that go deep into the soil of men's faith and men's hearts -- otherwise it is worthless. Only the unflagging will of men can preserve it.)

No President of the United States -- there have been quite a lot of them, too -- can or could make the American contribution to preserve the peace without the constant, alert and conscious collaboration of the American people.

Only the determination of the people to use the machinery gives worth to the machinery. Remember that.

We believe that the American people (have) already made up their minds on this great issue; and this Administration has been able to press forward confidently with its plans.

We are seeking to avert and avoid war.

The very fact that we are now at work on the organization of the peace proves that the great nations are committed to trust in each other. Put this proposition any way you want (will), it is bound to come out the same way; we either work with the other great nations, or we might some day have to fight them. And I am against that.

The kind of world order which we the peace-loving nations must achieve, must depend essentially on friendly

human relations, on acquaintance, on tolerance, on unassailable sincerity and good will and good faith. We have achieved that relationship to a very remarkable degree in our dealings with our Allies in this war -- as I think the events of the war have proved. (applause)

It is a new thing in human history for Allies to work together, as we have done -- so closely, so harmoniously, (and) so effectively in the fighting of a war, and at the same time in the building of a (the) peace.

If we fail to maintain that relationship in the peace -- if we fail to expand it and strengthen it -- then there will be no lasting peace.

I digress for a moment. As for Germany, that tragic nation which has sown the wind and is now reaping the whirlwind -- we and our Allies are entirely agreed that we shall not bargain with the Nazi conspirators, or leave them a shred of control -- open or secret -- of the instruments of government. (prolonged applause)

We shall not leave them a single element of military power -- or of potential military power.

But, and I should be false to the very foundations of my religious and political convictions, if I should ever relinquish the hope -- (and) or even the faith -- that in all peoples, without exception, there live some instinct for truth, some attraction toward justice, (and) some passion for peace -- buried as they may be in the German case under a brutal regime.

We bring no charge against the German race, as such,

for we cannot believe that God has eternally condemned any race of humanity. (applause) (For) We know in our own land, in these United States of America, how many good men and women of German ancestry have proved loyal, freedom-loving, and peace-loving citizens. (applause)

But there is going to be a stern punishment for all those in Germany directly responsible for this agony of mankind. (applause)

The German people are not going to be enslaved. Why? Because the United Nations do not traffic in human slavery. (applause) But it will be necessary for them to earn their way back -- earn their way back into the fellowship of peace-loving and law-abiding nations. And, in their climb up that steep road, we shall certainly see to it that they are not encumbered by having to carry guns. (laughter and applause) We hope they will be relieved of that burden (-- we hope) forever. (applause)

No. The task ahead of us will not be easy. Indeed it will be (as) difficult (and), complex, as any task (which) that has ever faced (an) any American administration.

I will not say to you now, or ever, that we of the Democratic (my) party know all the answers. I am certain, for myself, that I do not know how all the unforeseeable difficulties can be met. What I can say to you is this -- that I have unlimited faith that the task (job) can be done. (applause) And that faith -- that faith is based on knowledge -- knowledge gained in the arduous, practical and continuing experience of these past eventful years. (applause)

And so I speak to the present generation of Americans with a reverent participation in its sorrows and in its hopes. No generation has undergone a greater test, or has met that test with greater heroism and I think greater wisdom, and no generation has had a more exalted mission.

For this generation must act not only for itself, but as a trustee for all those who fell in the last war -- a part of their mission unfulfilled.

It must act also for all those who have paid the supreme price in this war -- lest their mission, too, be betrayed.

And finally it must act for the generations to come -- that (which) must be granted a heritage of peace.

I do not exaggerate that mission. We are not fighting for, and we shall not attain a (achieve) Utopia. Indeed, in our own land, the work to be done is never finished. We have yet to realize the full and equal enjoyment of our freedom. So, in embarking on the building of a world fellowship, we have set ourselves (to) a long and arduous task, a task that (which) will challenge our patience, our intelligence, our imagination, as well as our faith.

That task, my friends, calls for (requires) the judgment of a seasoned and (a) mature people. (applause) (And) This, I think, the American people have become. We shall not again be thwarted in our will to live as a mature nation, confronting limitless horizons. We shall bear our full responsibility, exercise our full influence, and bring our full help

and encouragement to all who aspire to peace and freedom.

We now are, and we shall continue to be, strong brothers -- strong brothers in the family of mankind -- the family of the children of God.

(prolonged cheers and applause)

TOAST
of the
P R E S I D E N T
at the
LUNCHEON AT THE GOVERNOR GENERAL'S HOUSE
in
OTTAWA, CANADA
AUGUST 25, 1943

—
—

I, too, wish that I might go with you to the Yukon, and to Alaska. In these days of planes and cars, distances seem nothing. That, perhaps, is the reason why this is my first trip to Canada. One always goes to the nearest places last. (laughter) But, of course, both in Quebec and here, when anybody has spoken of my visit to this Capital, I cannot help remembering that I started coming to Canada fifty-nine years ago -- (laughter) -- and meant to every year since.

I won't express any preference for the seaboard -- (laughter) -- or the interior, but the seaboard is a very charming place. (laughter) And its fish, while of a different character, are just as beautiful as the fish of Georgian Bay.

I have never been in the Northwest. I am one of those amphibious creatures who has visited Victoria, but never Vancouver; so I have a great deal still to see. Mr. King has talked with me for many years about going to see the Prairie States. I have never had that opportunity.

As a matter of fact, four years ago, when the King and Queen were here and came to Hyde Park, he was able to

tell me far more about Canada as a whole than I knew from my own experience. And I hope very much that because I have had the privilege of knowing you for a great many years, that he will come over again one of these days -- the sooner the better -- to visit you, and visit us below the line.

And so I give a Toast to the King.

A D D R E S S
of the
P R E S I D E N T
Opening The
THIRD WAR LOAN DRIVE
Broadcast Nationally
At 9.45 PM EWT
September 8, 1943

—

My fellow Americans:

Once upon a time, a few years ago, there was a city in our Middle West which was threatened by a destructive flood in the great river. The waters had risen to the top of the banks. Every man, woman and child in that city was called upon to fill sand bags in order to defend their homes against the rising waters. For many days and nights, destruction and death stared them in the face.

As a result of the grim, determined community effort, that city still stands. Those people kept the levees above the peak of the flood. All of them joined together in the desperate job that (which) had to be done -- business men, workers, farmers, and doctors, and preachers -- people of all races.

To me, that town is a living symbol of what community cooperation can accomplish.

Today, in the same kind of community effort, only very much larger, the United Nations and their peoples have kept the levees of civilization high enough to prevent the floods of aggression and barbarism and wholesale murder from engulfing us all. The flood has been raging for four years.

At last we are beginning to gain on it; but the waters have not yet receded enough for us to relax our sweating work with the sand bags. In this war bond campaign we are filling bags and placing them against the flood -- bags which are essential if we are to stand off the ugly torrent which is trying to sweep us all away.

Today, it is announced that an armistice with Italy has been (was) concluded.

This was a great victory for the United Nations -- but it was also a great victory for the Italian people. After years of war and suffering and degradation, the Italian people are at last coming to the day of liberation from their real enemies, the Nazis.

But let us not delude ourselves that this armistice means the end of the war in the Mediterranean. We still have to (must) drive the Germans out of Italy as we have driven them out of Tunisia and Sicily; we must drive them out of France and all other captive countries; and we must strike them on their own soil from all directions.

Our ultimate objectives in this war continue to be Berlin and Tokyo.

I ask you to bear these objectives constantly in mind -- and do not forget that we still have a long way to go before we attain (attaining) them.

The great news that you have heard today from General Eisenhower does not give you license to settle back in your rocking chairs and say, "Well, that does it. We've

got them ('em) on the run. Now we can start the celebration."

The time for celebration is not yet. And I have a suspicion that when this war does end, we shall not be in a very celebrating mood, a very celebrating frame of mind. I think that our main emotion will be one of grim determination that this shall not happen again.

During the past weeks, Mr. Churchill and I have been in constant conference with the leaders of our combined fighting forces. We have been in constant communication with our fighting Allies, Russian and Chinese, who are prosecuting the war with relentless determination and with conspicuous success on far distant fronts. And Mr. Churchill (he) and I are here together in Washington (here) at this crucial moment.

We have seen the satisfactory fulfillment of plans that were made in Casablanca last January and here in Washington last May. And lately we have made new, well-considered (extensive) plans for the future. But throughout these conferences we have never lost sight of the fact that this war will become bigger and tougher, rather than easier, during the long months that are to come.

This war does not and must not stop for one single instant. Your (our) fighting men know that. Those of them who are moving forward through jungles against lurking Japs -- those who are (in) landing at this moment, in barges moving through the dawn up to strange enemy coasts -- those who are diving their bombers down on the targets at roof-top level at this moment -- every one of these men knows that this

war is a full-time job and that it will continue to be that until total victory is won.

And, by the same token, every responsible leader in all the United Nations knows that the fighting goes on twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week, and that any day lost may have to be paid for in terms of months added to the duration of the war.

Every campaign, every single operation in all the campaigns that we plan and carry through must be figured in terms of staggering material costs. We cannot afford to be niggardly with any of our resources, for we shall need all of them to do the job that we have put our (undertaken) shoulder to.

Your fellow Americans have given a magnificent account of themselves -- on the battlefields and on the oceans and in the skies all over the world.

Now it is up to you to prove to them that you are contributing your share and more than your share. It is not sufficient to simply (to) put (money) into War Bonds money which we would normally save. We must put (money) into War Bonds money which we would not normally save. Only then have we done everything that good conscience demands. So it is up to you -- up to you, the Americans in the American homes -- the very homes which our sons and daughters are working and fighting and dying to preserve.

I know I speak for every man and woman throughout the (in) Americas when I say that we Americans will not be satisfied to send our troops into the fire of the enemy

with equipment inferior in any way. Nor will we be satisfied to send our troops with equipment only equal to that of the enemy. We are determined to provide our troops with overpowering superiority -- superiority of quantity (quality) and quality (quantity) in any and every category of arms and armaments that they may conceivably need.

And where does this our dominating power come from? Why, it can come only from you. The money you lend and the money you give in taxes buys that death-dealing, and at the same time life-saving power that we need for victory. This is an expensive war -- expensive in money; you can help it -- you can help to keep it at a minimum cost in lives.

The American people will never stop to reckon the cost of redeeming civilization. They know there (can) never can be any economic justification for failing to save freedom.

And we can be sure that our enemies will watch this drive with the keenest interest. They know that success in this undertaking will shorten the war. They know that the more money the American people lend to their Government, the more powerful and relentless will be the American forces in the field. They know that only a united and determined America could possibly produce on a voluntary basis so huge (large) a sum of money as fifteen billion dollars.

The overwhelming success of the Second War Loan Drive last April showed that the people of this Democracy stood firm behind their troops.

This (The) Third War Loan, which we are starting tonight, will also succeed -- because the American people will not permit it to fail.

I cannot tell you how much to invest in War Bonds during this Third War Loan Drive. No one can tell you. It is for you to decide under the guidance of your own conscience.

I will say this, however. Because the Nation's needs are greater than ever before, our sacrifices too must be greater than they have ever been before.

Nobody knows when total victory will come -- but we do know that the harder we fight now, the more might and power we direct at the enemy now, the shorter the war will be and the smaller the sum total of sacrifice.

Success of the Third War Loan will be the symbol that America does not propose to rest on its arms -- that we know the tough, bitter job ahead and will not stop until we have finished it.

Now it is your turn!

Every dollar that you invest in the Third War Loan is your personal message of defiance to our common enemies -- to the ruthless savages (militarists) of Germany and Japan -- and it is your personal message of faith and good cheer to our Allies and to all the men at the front. God bless them!

T O A S T
OF THE
P R E S I D E N T
IN THE STATE DINING ROOM OF THE WHITE HOUSE
FOR H.R.H. AMIR FAISAL, MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
OF SAUDI ARABIA
SEPTEMBER 30, 1943
AT ABOUT 9.20 PM,
E.W.T.

Your Royal Highness, I think that all of us here realize that tonight is a very historic occasion. In the long history of our country, and in the much longer history of Arabia, there have been no dinners like this. We have come to know each other, and I think our great hosts in both nations are agreed that in the future we should seek to know each other better.

There are very few Americans in all Arabia, and there are very few Arabians in all America. And so the more we see of each other in the days to come, the more it will mean not merely a diplomatic friendship, but it will mean a personal friendship.

We have much in common. We both love liberty -- both nations. And there is no reason why both nations should not maintain liberty.

We have much to learn from each other. And so I hope that in the days to come we will be able to discuss things, as friends.

I was telling His Royal Highness, at supper, that I knew that one of their problems in Arabia was an insufficiency of water in many places, and also of not enough trees. And

I was telling him of what we in our younger years used to call the Great American Desert, a strip running from the North in our own country, to the South where there was very little water, and where there were very few trees.

I was telling him that some years ago we had undertaken a certain project known as Shelter Belt, but since the outbreak of the war it has been going only sporadically, yet the people out there have seen what it has already done in many parts of the West. And I might just as well tell the Congress of the United States now that I am going to revive it, if I live long enough. It's a very excellent thing. Something like that should be known and experimented with, and practised at, in many parts of the world.

I use that just as an illustration, because Arabia is a land of great resources -- agricultural and surface resources, and sub-surface resources. And I want to assure their Royal Highnesses both, that the United States is not a nation which seeks to exploit any other nation, no matter what its size.

I wish much that the father of these gentlemen could come himself. I hope some day he will be able to come over here, just as I hope that some day I myself can go and visit him in Arabia.

I think we all know that the King is a very wonderful person. I was reading this afternoon a little magazine, and it was all about the King; and there was one little paragraph at the end that I liked a lot, because the end of it -- in

fact all of it -- goes along with my own philosophy.

"Ibn Saud's most engaging quality is a kingly belief in eventual rightness. It did not surprise him greatly when Allah, who sent Arabia its ancient rains, provided also its new oil. Nor will it surprise him greatly if God presently provides also not merely victory but even the bright and honest world that should go with it."

I think with that kind of philosophy, which is an Arabian philosophy and also an American philosophy, that working together we can contribute something towards a brighter world, and a more honest world, in the years to come.

And so I should like to propose the health of the King of Arabia, wishing much that he could be with us tonight.

(the Toast was drunk, and H.R.H. Amir Faisal replied in Arabic with a Toast to the President of the United States. It was not interpreted)

(the quotation is from the October, 1943, Reader's Digest, "Arabia's Self-Made King")

REMARKS Of The President

At Wilmington, Delaware

From The Rear Platform Of His Train

October 27, 1944, 11.30 a.m., e.w.t.

This is like a homecoming. As a matter of fact, I
think I am a little superstitious. Eight years ago, I came
here, on the way to Philadelphia, and I said a few words; and
four years ago I came here and said a few words. The results
go by threes. (laughter and applause)

Somebody tells me that we are holding a national
election, but remember that we are holding a national election
while the nation is at war -- and this is the first time that
an election has been held under these (such) conditions since
1864 -- eighty years ago.

And that recalls (which calls) to my mind a remark
made by Abraham Lincoln -- and I think I quoted him here the
last time, or the time before -- when Lincoln (he) was campaign-
ing against Stephen A. Douglas -- a remark that (which) I
think is particularly timely and applicable in this campaign
(today).

Lincoln said, about something that Douglas had said,
Lincoln said, "In every way possible he tried to prove that a
horse chestnut is a chestnut horse." (laughter)

It seems to me that that applies very neatly to some
of the Republican political oratory that (which) has lately
been agitating the air waves. (laughter)

I don't (do not) believe that this oratory is

really disturbing the progress of events here in Wilmington, or (and) in the State of Delaware. You have shown the way before, what to believe and what not to believe. (applause)

Yes, I think you (we) all know the difference between a chestnut horse (chestnut) and a (chestnut) horse chestnut. (laughter)

(Here in Wilmington you know something --) You know a great deal about the size and the quality of the effort that has gone into the performance of our great job of production. And you are very largely responsible.

For the products of Wilmington have made quite a lot of noise around the world.

I myself -- being, I might say, "amphibious minded" -- I am particularly interested in the landing ships (many of which) that you have (been) built (right) here along the Delaware River.

Remember that those landing ships -- built in your backyards, so to speak -- (and) all the various types of them (landing craft), have played a tremendous part in the winning of this war.

In the western -- in the Pacific and eastern seas, and the European seas, we have had to send our troops thousands of miles, across both oceans, to land on beaches held by the enemy. We had to have entirely new kinds of vessels to do the final and the toughest (part of this) job of all -- Sicily, Salerno, and Normandy, and the Marshalls, and the Gilberts, the Marianas, and now, Thank God (be praised), the Philippines -- (applause)

-- all of those historic operations -- and they are going to be
-- (have been) are made possible by the brilliant work of our
Navy and our Army in developing new methods of amphibious
attack.

And the workers -- the shipbuilders -- the industrial
engineers -- (the) chemists -- and the plain citizens of this
State of Delaware have contributed mightily to the victories
that we have won.

And when I mention the word "workers," I want to make
it clear that I include all kinds of work. For example, there
are the white collar workers, who do jobs that are unspectacular
but are of vital importance in the (our) war effort and our
whole American life.

In this national election, held in wartime, I hope
that every citizen of Wilmington and of Delaware -- every man
and woman who is qualified to vote -- will step up to the polls
on election day and cast his or her (the) ballot -- in this
State two ballots. (laughter) I don't want to advise you to
vote early and often, because I might go to jail. (more
laughter)

But a big vote in this State, in this city, and every
State in the Union (America) this year will speak powerfully
for the cause of democracy all over the world. And I hope
you will support that cause.

(great applause)

INFORMAL REMARKS Of The President
At City Hall, Camden, N. J.
October 27, 1944

My friends of South Jersey: I wish I could stay here longer in this campaign. I have been here many times before, and as you know, even in the old, old days when I was with the Navy, I used to come here to see the New York Shipbuilding Company. And I am glad to be greeted by their band. (laughter and applause)

Things are going along pretty well, and I have got accustomed to the rain. (laughter)

I want merely to wish you all good luck, and hope that you will all go to the polls.

And I can do no better than to read you, in reverse, a little card that Mayor Brunner handed to me. At the bottom of it it says these words, and I throw them back to you with my regards and all the good luck.

He said: "Wishing you good luck, good health, and victory upon the battlefronts, and at the ballot boxes."

And that is what I say to you.

(applause)

REMARKS Of The President
At Fort Wayne, Indiana

October 28, 1944, at 2.30 p.m., e.w.t.

Delivered From a Platform At The Railroad Stop

My friends of Fort Wayne: I have to say on this occasion "my friends of Indiana," because it is the only chance that I'll have to say just a few words in this State. This is a very big country, and of the forty-eight of the brethren, Indiana is only one; but I am glad to have a chance to come here, if only for these few minutes.

I have been here before several times, and I know that you citizens in this city have done and are doing so much to help us win the war.

I have heard some rather irritated comment by Republican campaign orators -- (laughter) -- rather irritated comment about taking a campaign trip.

They don't like it. (laughter)

They seem to believe that I promised them -- way back when I was nominated at the convention presided over by your Senator -- they seemed to believe that I was not going to campaign under any circumstances, and therefore that they could say anything they wanted to about my policies and my Administration.

However, they conveniently overlook what I actually said in my speech of acceptance last July, and I think the Senator will bear me out. I am going to quote from that speech very briefly -- and I am sure you will pardon me if I quote

it correctly --- (laughter) --- because, you know, a long time ago, when I was Governor of New York, I formed the habit of quoting correctly. (laughter and applause) And I said --- in the same paragraph --- I said I wasn't going to conduct the usual campaign. I said, however: "I shall, however, feel free to report to the people the facts about matters of concern to them, and especially to correct any misrepresentations."

So that is why I am going out to Chicago for another similar speech tonight. I believe the American people know what those misrepresentations have been. They know what they are, and they know just who made 'em. I think the American people know that in my speeches in this campaign I have pointed out and corrected many of these misrepresentations. (applause)

I have a conviction that the people of Indiana, the majority of the voters of Indiana know that I am the same Franklin Roosevelt who started in campaigns twelve years ago. (applause) And between now and election day I expect to point out and correct some more misrepresentations -- (laughter and applause) --- because if you are a betting person, the odds are that there will be a great many more misrepresentations.

(laughter)

You good people in Fort Wayne have had first-hand knowledge of the great production job which has been done in this State, and in this great railroad center.

For example, you know how efficiently, how quickly railroads all over the United States have delivered the goods. (applause)

It has been a tremendous job for these railroads, geared to the needs of a peacetime America, to be converted almost overnight to the demands of fighting this war. The way our railroads have transported munitions and men to all parts of the United States and to our sea-coast, to be sent to our fighting fronts all over the world, has earned -- deserved the admiration and gratitude of the entire American people.

And do not forget that American railroad men are doing a fine railroad job in this war with all our armies and our navy all over the world. A lot of them got their training right here. I think these railroad men deserve to know what the American people think of them as doing their bit in this war, just as much as if they were in the uniform of the Army or the Navy instead of the uniform of the railroad.

And it so happens that I discovered, about an hour ago, that on my train there is a brakeman named Morrison. He used to live in Fort Wayne. He is the kind of person who is doing his job in this war. He is somewhere here on the platform with me. That is a pure coincidence -- but he is a type. And this year it so happens that he is running for the legislature in Indiana. (applause)

Well, I see by the papers that Indiana is a "doubtful State." (laughter) And there are a lot of other "doubtful States," according to the poll people. That means -- well, that means that the people who run the public opinion polls cannot agree with each other as to which way the State is going on election day.

Of course, I may have my hunch -- which happens to be the same hunch as the Governor of your State has -- (applause) -- and on several occasions our hunches have coincided -- have proved to be true. (laughter and applause)

But there is one thing that is not doubtful about this State and that is the ability of its people to produce. That goes for Indiana's industries and Indiana's farms. You have all been greatly helpful in conducting -- with other States -- the greatest war that this world has ever seen in all the centuries.

And I hope that regardless of which party you support on election day, you will produce a record crop of votes. (applause)

I -- I would hate to be re-elected by a little bit of a vote. (laughter) That wouldn't spell democracy. If I am re-elected, I want it to be a big vote. (applause) And if I should be defeated, I don't want to be defeated by a small vote. (laughter) I would always have the feeling that if everybody had come out and voted, I would be in again.

(applause)

And so I just want to tell you that I am awfully glad to have a chance to make this stop.

I wish that I could campaign in the usual sense -- (laughter) -- but you know, as I said last night, in some circles it's not the thing to do. I am in the middle of a war. And so are you. We are all in it. We are going to win it, if we keep on with the same splendid cooperation that we have had

in the past. It is quite a job, but I am perfectly able to take it, and you are too, until we win. (applause)

And so let me tell you that I am glad to see you, and I hope to come back once more in the next four years -- (laughter) -- as President of the United States. And as I said before, you will find me just the same, and I'll wear the same sized hat.

(laughter and great applause)

A D D R E S S
OF THE
P R E S I D E N T
IN CONNECTION WITH THE
NATIONAL WAR FUND
OCTOBER 5, 1943
AT 10.30 P.M., E.W.T.
BROADCAST NATIONALLY FROM THE WHITE HOUSE

My Friends and Fellow Americans:

We, the people of the United States, know now that ultimate victory is certain -- but that it is still a long way off, and that for it we are paying and shall have to pay a great price.

In the genius of the American people -- for freedom, and decency, and friendliness among neighbors -- lies one of our best weapons for that victory, and certainly our greatest insurance for a peace that will be just and lasting. Our men and our Allies know they have made no covenant with our Government alone. They know that they have the backing of all the resources and spirit of the American people themselves. In that conviction alone lies the winning morale which no slave of a dictator can ever know.

That is why I am glad to speak to you tonight about the National War Fund. It is a philanthropic federation with three simple aims; first, to determine the nature and the extent of the war-related needs; second, to see that everybody has a chance to contribute to the funds required, and third,

to channel the sums raised for its member agencies wherever American help is currently most needed -- to raise enough and on time.

The National War Fund has the hearty approval and support of all the Government agencies concerned with our management of the war. For the National War Fund, by its unity, its economy, its competent management, and its elimination of waste, duplication and delay, is playing a part in our total war effort which all of us in Washington regard as an absolute essential.

In its unity of purpose, and its federation of agencies without surrender of state and local freedom of method, of course, the National War Fund combines the American genius for organization, the American capacity for economy, and the best of our American tradition for giving freely, and promptly, and in proportion to our means and the need.

For these reasons, when your local war fund or community chest ask you to give -- for our own forces, for our Allies, and for the needs at home, I ask all of you to think about it carefully before you give.

I ask you to remember that the USO is your share of what we are doing for our own fighting men, and the forces behind the lines. I ask you to consider that War Prisoners Aid does what no Government can do. I ask you to think of United Seamen's Service in terms of the people's debt to the men who took our ships across in the darkest hours of the war. And I ask you not to forget that the people of

Russia, and China, and of all the other United Nations -- and especially the unfortunate, hungry men and women (and children) of all the over-run and enslaved countries -- see in your personal and friendly concern the brightest ray of hope and the greatest power for good in the world today -- the sovereign voice of the people of the United States.

And so I ask you (therefore) to give thoughtfully, and generously, and proportionately -- remembering as you give, that a share in the National War Fund is a share in winning the war, and in winning the right of free men to live in a better world.

ADDRESS Of The President

At Soldiers Field, Chicago, Illinois

October 28, 1944, at 9.00 p.m., c.w.t.

Radio Broadcast

Mr. Mayor, Senator Lucas, and I think I am not too
previous in saying Governor Courtney, My Friends of Illinois,
and Indiana, and Wisconsin:

The American people are now engaged in the greatest war
of all (in) history -- and we are also engaged in a political
campaign.

We are fighting this war and we are holding this election -- both for the same essential reason: because we have faith in democracy. (applause)

And there is no force and there is no combination of forces powerful enough to shake that faith.

As you know, I have had some (previous) experience in war -- and I have also had a certain amount of previous experience in political campaigning. (applause)

But (--) I must confess (--) to you that this is the strangest campaign I have ever seen. (laughter and applause)

I have listened to (the) various Republican orators who are urging the people to throw the present Administration out and put them in. (boos) And what do they say?

Well, they say in effect, just this:

They say, "Those incompetent blunderers and bunglers
in Washington have passed a lot of excellent laws about social security and labor and farm relief and soil conservation --

and many others -- and we promise that if elected we will not (to) change any of them." (laughter and applause)

And they go on to say, "Those (These) same quarrel-some tired old men -- (laughter) -- they have built the greatest military machine the world has ever known, which is fighting its way to victory; (applause) and, they say, if you elect us, we promise not to change any of that, either." (laughter)

"Therefore," say these Republican orators, "it is time for a change." (laughter)

They also say in effect, "Those inefficient and worn-out crack-pots -- (laughter) -- have really begun to lay the foundations of a lasting world peace. If you elect us, we will not change any of that, either." (laughter) "But," they whisper, "we'll do it in such a way that we won't lose the support even of Gerald Nye or Gerald Smith -- (boos) -- and -- and this is very important -- we won't lose the support of any isolationist campaign contributor. Why, we will (even) be able to satisfy even the Chicago Tribune." (loud and prolonged boos)

Tonight -- tonight I want to (shall) talk simply to you about the future of America -- about this land of ours, this land of unlimited opportunity. I shall give the Republican campaign orators some more opportunities to say -- "me too." (laughter)

Today, everything we do is devoted to the most important job before us -- winning the war and bringing our men and women home as quickly as possible. (applause)

We have astonished the whole world and confounded

our enemies with our stupendous war production, with the overwhelming courage and skill of our fighting men -- with the bridge of ships carrying our munitions and men through the seven seas -- with our gigantic fleet which has pounded the enemy all over the Pacific and has just driven through for another (a) touch-down. (applause)

Yes, the American people are prepared to meet the problems of peace in the same bold way that they have met the problems of war.

For the American people are resolved that when our men and women return home from this war, they shall come back to the best possible place on the face of the (this) earth -- (applause) -- they shall come back to a place where all persons, regardless of race, and color, or creed or place of birth, where they can live in peace and honor and human dignity -- free to speak, free to (and) pray as they wish -- (applause) -- free from want -- and free from fear. (loud applause)

Last January, in my message to the Congress on the state of the Union, I outlined an Economic Bill of Rights on which "a new basis of security and prosperity can be established for all." (-- regardless of station, race or creed":)

And I repeat it (them) now:

"The right of a useful and remunerative job in (the) industry (industries), in the (or) shops, on the (or) farms, or the mines of the nation;

"The right to earn enough to provide adequate food and clothing and recreation;

"The right of every farmer to raise and sell his products for (at) a return which will give him and his family a decent living; (applause)

"The right of every business man, large and small, to trade in an atmosphere of freedom from unfair competition, from (and) domination by monopolies at home or abroad;

"The right of every family to a decent home;

"The right to adequate medical care and the opportunity to achieve and enjoy good health;

"The right to adequate protection from the economic fears of old age, (sickness), of accident, of (and) unemployment;

"And last of all, the right to a good education."
(applause)

Now, what do those rights mean? "They (All of these rights) spell security. And after this war is won we must be prepared to move forward, in the implementation of these rights, to new goals of human happiness and well-being."

Some people -- I need not name them -- some people have sneered at these ideals as well as at the ideals of the Atlantic Charter, the ideals of (and) the Four Freedoms. They have said that (-- saying) they were (the) dreams of starry-eyed New Dealers -- that it is silly to talk of them because we cannot attain these ideals tomorrow or the next day.

But I think the American people have greater faith than that. I know that they agree with these (those) objectives -- that they demand them -- that they are determined to

get them -- and that they are going to get them. (great applause)

The American people have a good habit -- the habit of going right ahead and accomplishing the impossible. (applause)

We know that, (And the) and other people know it.

For example, today, there are those that (who) know it (that) best of all (are): the Nazis and the Japs.

Now, this Economic Bill of Rights is the recognition of the simple fact that, in America, the future of the worker, the future of the (and) farmer lies in the well-being of private enterprise; (and) that the future of private enterprise lies in the well-being of the worker and the farmer. It goes both ways. (applause)

And the well-being of the nation as a whole is synonymous with the well-being of each and every one of its citizens.

Now I have the possibly old-fashioned theory that when you have problems to solve, when you have objectives to achieve, you cannot get very far by just talking about them.

We (You) have got to go out -- we have got to go out and do something!

To assure the full realization of the right to a useful and remunerative employment, an adequate program must, and if I have anything to do about it will provide America with close to sixty million productive jobs. (applause)

I foresee an expansion of our peacetime productive capacity that (which) will require new facilities, new

plants, (and) new equipment -- capable of hiring millions of (more) men.

I propose that the Government do its part in helping private enterprise to finance expansion of our private industrial plant through normal investment channels.

For example, business, large and small, must be encouraged by the Government to expand its (their) plants, (and) to replace their obsolete or worn out equipment with new equipment. And -- just as an aside, but pretty important -- (to that end) the rate of depreciation on these new plants and facilities for tax purposes should be accelerated. That means more jobs -- jobs for the worker, increased profits for the business man, and a lower cost to the consumer.

In 1933, when my Administration took office, vast numbers of our industrial workers were unemployed, our plants and our businesses were idle, our monetary and banking system was in ruins, as we know -- our economic resources were running to waste.

But by 1940 -- before Pearl Harbor -- we had increased our employment by ten million workers. (applause) We had converted a corporate loss of five and one-half billion dollars in 1932, to a corporate profit ((after taxes)) of nearly five billion dollars in the black in 1940.

Obviously, to increase jobs after this war, we shall have to (increase) demand -- we will take care of an increased demand for our industrial and agricultural production not only here at home, but (also) abroad also.

I am sure that every man and woman in this vast gathering here tonight will agree with me in my conviction that never again must we in the United States attempt to isolate ourselves from the rest of humanity. (applause)

Yes, I am convinced (confident) that, with Congressional approval, the foreign trade of the United States can be trebled after the war -- providing millions of more jobs.

Such cooperative measures provide the soundest economic foundation for a lasting peace. And that is what we want. And, after this war, we do not intend to settle for anything less than a lasting peace. (applause)

When we think of the America of tomorrow, we think of many things.

One of them is the American home(s) -- in our cities, in our villages, (and) on our farms. Millions of our people have never had homes worthy of American standards -- well built homes, with electricity and plumbing, (and) air and sunlight.

The demand for homes and our capacity to build them call for a program of well over a million homes a year for at least ten years. Private industry -- private industry can build and finance the vast majority of these homes. Government can and will assist and encourage private industry to do this, as it has for many years. For those very low income groups that cannot possibly afford decent homes at this time, the Federal Government should and will continue to assist local housing authorities in meeting that need.

In the future America that we are talking about,

we think of new highways, (and) new parkways. We think of thousands of new airports to service the new commercial and private air travel which is bound to come after the war. We think of new (air)planes, large and small, new cheap automobiles with low maintenance and operation costs. We think of new hospitals and new health clinics. We think of a new merchant marine for our expanded world trade.

My friends, think of (all) these vast opportunities, these vast possibilities for industrial expansion -- and you will foresee opportunities for more millions of jobs. (applause)

And with all that, our Economic Bill of Rights -- like the sacred Bill of Rights of our Constitution itself -- must be applied to all our citizens, irrespective of race, or creed or color. (applause)

Three years ago, back in 1941, I appointed a Fair Employment Practice Committee to prevent discrimination in war industry and Government employment. The work of that (the) Committee and the results obtained more than justify its creation.

I believe that the Congress of the United States should by law make the Committee permanent. (applause)

Yes, America must remain the land of high wages and efficient production. Every full-time job in America must provide enough for a decent living. And that goes for jobs in mines, or offices or factories, stores and canneries -- (and) everywhere where men and women are employed.

During the war we have been compelled to limit

wage and salary increases for one great objective -- to prevent runaway inflation. You all know how successfully we have held the line by the way your cost of living has been kept down for the necessities of life. (applause) Sometimes, as even I know, that doesn't apply to the luxuries of life.

However, at the end of the war there will be more goods available, and it's (it is) only (good) common sense to see to it that the working man is paid enough, and that the farmers earn enough, to buy these goods and keep our factories running. (applause) And it is a simple fact, likewise, that a greatly increased production of food and fibre on the farms can be consumed by the people who work in industry only if those people who work in industry have enough money to buy food and clothing. (applause) If industrial wages go down, I can assure you that farm prices will go down too. (applause) After the war, we shall of course remove the control of wages and leave their determination to free collective bargaining between trade unions and employers. (great applause)

And we of the cities, in this war, must remember the American farmer has been called upon to do far and away the biggest (food) production job -- food production job in all its history.

The American farmer has met that challenge triumphantly.

Despite all manner of war time difficulties -- shortage of farm labor, (and of) new farm machinery -- the American farmer has achieved a total of food production which is one

of the great wonders of the world.

The American farmer is a great producer; and he must have the means also to be (also) a great consumer. For more farm income means more jobs everywhere in the nation.
(applause)

Let us look back -- let us look back for a moment to 1932, a year of unhappy memories. All of us remember the spreading tide of farm foreclosures; we remember four cent hogs, and twenty cent wheat, and five cent cotton.

I am going to give you, very simply, some figures of recovery -- quite awhile ago -- and I am sure you will pardon me if I quote them correctly. (laughter and applause) For as I remarked at Fort Wayne this afternoon, it is my habit to quote figures correctly, even when I was Governor of the State of New York, many years ago.

In those days of 1932, the American farmers' net income was only two and a (one) quarter billion dollars.

In 1940 -- a year before we were attacked -- farm income in the United States was more than doubled. It was up to five and a half billion dollars.

And this year -- in 1944 -- it will be approximately thirteen and one-half billion dollars. (applause)

I take it that (Certainly) the American farmer does not want to go back to a Government owned by the moguls of 1929 -- (cries of "No") -- and let us bear it constantly in mind that those same moguls still control the destinies of the Republican party. (boos, laughter and applause)

Yes, we must continue this Administration's policy of conserving the enormous gifts with which an abundant Providence has blessed our country -- our soil, our forests, and our water.

For example, the work of the Tennessee Valley Authority that we have read about is closely related to our national farm policy -- our farm program, and we look forward toward (the) similar developments which I have recommended in other places -- the valley of the Missouri, (--) in the valley of the Arkansas, (--) and (in) the Columbia River Basin out on the far coast.

And incidentally -- and as an aside -- I cannot resist the temptation to point to the gigantic contribution to our war effort made by the power generated at TVA and Bonneville and Grand Coulee.

But, do you remember when the building of these great public works was ridiculed as New Deal "boondoggling"? And we are (now) planning -- almost ready to put into effect -- developments at Grand Coulee, which will provide irrigation for many thousands -- tens of thousands of acres -- providing fertile (farm) land for settlement -- settlement I hope (--) by many of our returning soldiers and sailors.

More "boondoggling"!! (applause)

And this Administration has put into the law of the land the farmers' long dream of parity prices.

(And) We propose, too, that the Government will cooperate when the weather will not -- by a genuine crop insurance

program.

This Administration has adopted -- and will continue -- the policy of giving to as many farmers as possible the chance of owning their own farms.

And that means something to those veterans who left their farms to fight for their country. (applause)

And after this war has ended, then will come the time when the returning servicemen (This time they) can grow their own apples on their own farms instead of having to sell apples on the street corners. (great applause)

I believe in free enterprise -- and always have.

I believe in the profit system -- and always have.

I believe that private enterprise can give full employment to our people.

(And) If anyone feels that my faith in our ability to provide sixty million peacetime jobs is fantastic, let him remember that some people said the same thing about my demand in 1940 for fifty thousand airplanes. (applause)

I believe in exceptional rewards for innovation, skill, and risktaking by business.

We shall lift production and price control as soon as they are no longer needed -- encouraging private business to produce more of the things to which we are accustomed and also thousands of new things, in ever-increasing volume, under conditions of free and open competition.

This Administration has been mindful from its earliest days, and will continue to be mindful, of the problems

of small business as well as large.

Why, small business played a magnificent part in producing thousands of items needed for our armed forces. When the war broke out -- when the war broke out it was mobilized into war production. Money was loaned (to them) for machinery. Over one million contracts (prime) and subcontracts have been distributed among sixty thousand of the smaller plants of our (the) nation.

We shall make sure that small business is given every facility to buy government-owned plants, equipment, (and) inventories. The special credit and capital requirements of small business are going to (will) be met.

And small business will continue to be protected from something: selfish, (and) cold-blooded monopolies and cartels. Beware -- beware of that profound enemy of the free enterprise system who pays lip-service to free competition -- but also labels every anti-trust prosecution as a "persecution." You know, it depends a good deal on whose baby has the measles.
(laughter)

This war has demonstrated that when the American business man and the American worker and the American farmer work together, they form an unbeatable team. (applause)

We know that -- you and I -- our Allies know that -- and so do our enemies.

That winning team must keep together after the war, and it will win many more historic victories of peace, peace for our country, a victory (and) for the cause of security,

for (and) decent standards of living here and throughout the world.

We owe it to our fighting men, we owe it (and) to their families -- we owe it to all of our people who have given so much in this war -- we owe it to our children -- to keep that winning team together. (applause)

And -- as I remarked -- the future of America, like its past, must be made by deeds -- not words.

America has always been a land of action -- a land of adventurous pioneering -- a land of growing and building.

And America must always be such a land. (applause)

The creed -- the creed of our democracy is that liberty is acquired, (and) liberty is kept by men and women who are strong, (and) self-reliant, and possessed of such wisdom as God gives to mankind -- men and women who are just, men and women who are (and) understanding, and generous to others -- men and women who are capable of disciplining themselves.

For they are the rulers, and they must rule themselves.

I believe in our democratic faith. (and) I believe in the future of our country which has given eternal strength and vitality to that faith.

Here in Chicago you know a lot about that vitality.

And as I say good-night to you, I say it in a spirit of faith -- a spirit of hope -- a spirit of confidence.

We are not going to turn(back) the clock back!
(great applause)

We are going forward, my friends -- (and --) forward with the fighting millions of our fellow countrymen. (--) We are going forward (together).

And that, tonight, is my message to you. Let us go forward together.

(great and prolonged applause)

INFORMAL REMARKS
OF THE
P R E S I D E N T
AT THE DEDICATION OF FOUR LIBERATOR BOMBERS
FOR YUGOSLAVIAN COMBAT SERVICE
AT BOLLING FIELD
OCTOBER 6, 1943

Mr. Ambassador, General Giles, members of the first Yugoslav air force trained in this country:

I am very happy to take part in this most interesting ceremony. I am happy also that you gentlemen are going to wear as members of the Yugoslav air force the wings of the United States air force.

May these planes fulfill their mission under your guidance. They are built with two great objectives. The first is to drop bombs on our common enemy successfully and at the right points. The second is to deliver to your compatriots in Yugoslavia the much needed supplies for which they have waited so long -- food, medicine -- Yes, arms and ammunition.

And so you fare forth on one of the greatest odysseys of this war. I count on you to bear yourselves well. And I am sure you will have every success in this great mission that you are undertaking. Remember always that we are comrades in arms.

INFORMAL REMARKS Of The President
From The Rear Platform Of His Train
At Clarksburg, West Virginia
October 29, 1944
12.10 p.m., e.w.t.

My friends: This being Sunday, the Governor, in cooperating with me in keeping politics out of it, says that he is not even going to introduce me.

I have been here before, and it is a great comfort to come on a Sunday in a campaign year, because on Sundays my life is made much more comfortable by not having to think about politics. Unfortunately, I do have to think about the war, because every day, including Sundays, dispatches come to me, on the train even, to tell me of the progress of our boys in Europe and in the Pacific and in the Philippines. I can't get rid of that.

So coming up through the State today, I have been looking out of the window, and I think there is a subject that is a good subject for Sunday, because I remember the line in the poem, "Only God can make a tree." And one of the things that people have to realize all over the United States, and I think especially in West Virginia, I don't see the trees I ought to see. That is something that we in this country have fallen down on. We have been using up natural resources that we ought to have replaced. I know we can't replace coal -- it will be a long time before all the coal is gone -- but trees constitute something that we can replace.

We have to think not just of an annual crop, not just something that we can eat the next year, but we have to think of a longer crop, something that takes years to grow, but which in the long run is going to do more good for our children and for our grandchildren than if we leave the hills bare.

I remember a story, and it is taken out of Germany. There was a town there -- I don't know what has happened in the last twenty years -- but this is back when I used to be in grade school in Germany -- and I used to bicycle. And we came to a town, and outside of it there was a great forest. And the interesting thing to me, as a boy even, was that the people in that town didn't have to pay taxes. They were supported by their own forest.

Way back in the time of Louis something of France -- some king -- the French king was approaching this town with a large army. And the prince of the time asked the townspeople to come out to defend their principality, and he promised them that if they would keep the invader out of the town, out of the principality, he would give them the forest.

The burghers turned out. They repulsed the French king. And very soon the prince made good. He gave the forest to the town. And for over two hundred years that town in Germany had to pay no taxes. Everybody made money, because they had no taxes. In other words, it was a forest on an annual yield basis. They cut down perhaps seventy percent of what they could get out of that year's mature crop. And every year they planted new trees. And every year the proceeds from

that forest paid the equivalent of taxes.

Now that is true more and more in this country. There are more and more municipalities that are reforesting their watersheds, putting trees on the top of their hills, preventing the erosion of soil. They are not on a self-sustaining basis because it has only been started within the last ten or fifteen years. And yet while only God can make a tree, we have to do a little bit to help ourselves.

I think that all of us sort of look at our lives in terms of ourselves, and yet your children, your grandchildren, your great-grandchildren, your great-great-grandchildren -- some of them will be living right around here, right around where the population is today. Perhaps the old house -- perhaps a better, new house. And more and more we Christians are going to think about those grandchildren and great-grandchildren. It doesn't amount to very much, this cost of planting trees, and yet the hillsides of West Virginia of our grandparents' day were much more wonderful than they are now. It's largely a deforested State. And I believe that from the point of view of the beauties of nature, from the point of view of all that trees can be, and from the point of view of your own grandchildren's pocketbooks, the small number of cents, the small number of dollars that go into reforestation are going to come back a thousand-fold.

Up where I live, in the country on the Hudson River, my family had -- when I was a boy -- five or six hundred acres. It wasn't valuable land. And my own father, in the old days,

would go in every year and cut the family needs in the way of timber.

When I was a small boy, I realized that there was waste going on; and when I went to the State Senate as a young man, somebody appointed me to the Conservation Commission. Some parts of upstate New York were being eroded, a lot of top-soil was running away, we were getting more floods than we had ever had in the old days.

And just as an experiment, I started planting a few acres each year on rundown land. I tried to pasture some skinny cows on it. And at the same time, I went into the old woods and cleaned out no-account trees, trees that were under-grown or would never amount to anything, crooked trees, rotten trees.

Well, the answer was this. When the last war came on, the old woods had some perfectly splendid trees, because I had cleaned them out, cleaned out the poor stuff.

And during that war, I made four thousand dollars, just by cutting out the mature trees. And I kept on every year. And in the winter-time, when the men weren't doing much, cleaning them out. And the trees grew.

And a quarter of a century later, there came this war. I think I cooperated with the Almighty, because I think trees were made to grow. Oh Yes, they are useful as mine timbers. I know that. But there are a lot of places in this State where there isn't any mine timber being cut out.

And in this war, back home, I cut last year --

and this is not very Christian -- over four thousand dollars' worth net of oak trees, to make into submarine chasers and landing craft and other implements of war. And I am doing it again this year.

And I hope that this use of wood is growing, for all kinds of modern inventions, plastics, and so forth. I hope that when I am able to cut some more trees, twenty or twenty-five years from now -- it may not be me, it may be one of the boys -- we will be able to use them at a profit, not for building mine chasers or landing craft, but for turning them into some human use.

And I believe that in this country -- not this State only, but a great many more -- that we in the next few years, when peace comes, will be able to devote more thought to making our country more useful -- every acre of it.

I remember eight years ago, I think it was, out in the West, we knew that there were great floods and a dry belt in there. We knew, also, that trees bring water and avoid floods. And so we started one of those "crackpot" things, for which I have been criticised, a thing called the shelter belt, to keep the high winds away, to hold the moisture in the soil. And the result is that that shelter belt -- not much ran down-hill -- a great success has been made of it. And the farmers are getting more crops and better crops out there on the prairies in the lea of these rows of trees.

Forestry pays from the practical point of view. I have proved that. And so I hope -- I hope to live long

enough to see West Virginia with more trees in it. I hope to live to see the day when this generation will be thinking not just of themselves but also of the children and the grandchildren.

And so I had a happy day this morning in looking out at this wonderful scenery, but I couldn't take my eyes off those bare hilltops. I couldn't take my thoughts off the fact that this generation, and especially the previous generation, have been thinking of themselves and not of the future.

And so some day I hope to come back, and I hope to see a great forestry program for the whole of the State. Nearly all of it needs it. I hope to come back and be able to say, "I stopped, once upon a time, in Clarksburg, on a Sunday morning, and just avoided politics and talked to the people in Clarksburg, and they must have heard me all over the State, because they started planting trees." (laughter)

And so I think my Sunday sermon is just about over. (laughter) It has been good to see you, and I really do hope that I will come back here, one of these days soon.

Thanks. (applause)

last ten years. There were some "doubting Thomases," as President Lescot knows. There were some people who said No, it was too early. But I promised his predecessor in July of 1934 that the Marines would be out by the end of August, and they were. And since that time, one of the experiments of my life has been permanently successful, because in the last ten years of the Republic of Haiti not a single American has been there with a gun. Haiti has made good in every way. I regard the nation's advance in prosperity and in friendship during those ten years as something that ought to be written up in the history books.

I keep talking, not just when the President comes here to visit me, but on many other occasions, about the development of Haiti. Those of you who have been there know it is one of the most beautiful countries in the world. It has everything. It has everything above the ground, and everything under the ground. I was talking to the President about one section of Haiti that I never personally visited, although I saw it from the top of some mountains, a section in about the middle of the Republic that is so high that you find there the most beautiful groves and forests of pine trees, a country where in January or February you find ice in the streams, and not very far away you get down to a place where you can grow everything that grows. It is an amazing place. I strongly recommend that whenever you get a chance, if you haven't been there, that you go to Haiti.

I think it was a certain Queen of England who

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I think it was a certain Queen of England who

said that after her death "Calais" would be found written on her heart. When I die, I think that "Haiti" is going to be written on my heart, because for all these years I have had the most intense interest in the Republic of Haiti, and the development of its people in a way that will never mean exploitation by any other nation. They ought to develop for themselves, and they have every opportunity in the world to do so. Under President Lescot and his predecessor, very great strides have been made. It is becoming a self-contained country, with divergent resources of all sorts of things. We have been talking about economics already, and the fact that Haiti has insufficient industries. And yet there are dozens of articles down there which they can grow and produce the raw materials for, and manufacture themselves. It is not against our interest, because there are a great many things that we can make that they can't make, and there are lots of things that they can make that we can't make. That forms the basis of trade.

At the present time, Haiti is engaged in the cultivation of a new plant, *cryptostegia*, which turns out rubber. This year they will be getting ten thousand tons of rubber in Haiti. I hope that when I am out of the White House -- I might get beaten on it otherwise -- that the Congress won't put the kind of tariff on rubber for American automobiles tires just to keep some synthetic plants going. That would mean that every man in the United States who owned a car would have to pay fifty percent more for his rubber. I

believe in cheap tires, and more of them; and the only way to get that is to use the tires that are made by nature, whether it be rubber, or guayule, or cryptostegia.

In that way, and through the diversification of their crops, and the diversification of their industries, the future of Haiti is very, very bright.

We have to remember, as we sometimes forget it in this country, that Haiti is a great deal more than just another island in the West Indies. Most of the islands in the West Indies have relatively small populations. The Haitian part of the Island of San Domingo contains nearly three million people -- over two hundred people per square mile. Because of this density of population they don't even raise enough food to sustain the entire population.

One of the things that we want to help them on, in order to be self-sustaining, is the growing of more of their own food supplies. It will help them. And it will help us, for it may teach us some day to make Puerto Rico self-sustaining. We have two million people in Puerto Rico, and almost everything they eat is bought on the outside. The money to buy their own food doesn't go into their pockets, it goes into the pockets of China, and Mexico, and the United States.

And so, in this new civilization that we are coming to, of mutual aid and in a cooperative management between all the nations of the world, I think that not only can Haiti learn a lot from us, but we can learn a lot from Haiti.

It is a wonderful thing that during all these

years we have had such good friends down there in the government of Haiti. None more than my old friend, President Lescot, who used to be with us in Washington, and who has come back, and who we hope will come back many, many times again.

President Lescot!

(the Toast was drunk, and President Lescot replied in French, a close translation of which follows):

Dear Mr. President, Dear Sirs:

It is truly a pleasant privilege for me to be this evening beside your President, the great protector of the American continent. His kind words about my country have touched me deeply, as have the words of all my other American friends.

Both our countries are today on the friendliest terms, for the bonds which link our two nations are mighty bonds indeed. One of our Republics, represented both by white and black races, easily complements the other, populated by dark peoples alone.

Our past has shown that the entire history of the Americas is widely linked to the history of our two nations. It is true that in the past there have been misunderstandings between our countries, but these errors have been completely forgotten. Let us forget the past. Let us live in the

present, and prepare for the future, for the United States is paving the way to the future.

I have no fears in this regard, and I have placed my trust in the United States and in our inter-American agreements. I know that when the United States is threatened, we, too, are threatened. In the present crisis we have put our cards on the table on the side of the great North American Republic. Those cards, I may now say, have been well played, we have done well to put our trust in the American people, and in the American President. Our game is a good one, though we are paying dearly for it. America is paying dearly in sweat and in blood.

But, if my own Republic is not contributing with its blood, it is contributing in another way, for we are cultivating (rubber) plants which play a large part in securing victory, and we are ready to put our entire agricultural area into the production of these plants to the last acre, in order to help the war effort.

We have won our freedom, and we intend to keep it, and we know that America's respect and generosity to Haiti have been proved in the relations of the past fifty years. Every time foreign powers have threatened us during that time, we have turned towards the United States for help, and have received it.

Haiti must be an example to American nations by standing staunchly on the side of the United States. The American nations should unanimously place themselves at the

side of the American people.

I am proud to lift my glass to the American people.

I am proud to lift my glass to my great friend, the President of the United States.

I am proud to lift my glass to the valiant united peoples at war.

(the Toast was drunk)

ADDRESS Of The President
Radio Broadcast From The White House
November 2, 1944
At 9.00 p.m., e.w.t.

Ladies and gentlemen:

I had hoped that during the early part of this week, I could have gone in person to some of the nearer midwestern cities, such as Cleveland and Detroit, and I had hoped that I could visit some of my old friends in upstate New York.

However, on my return to Washington from Chicago, I find that I am not free to spare the time right now. Therefore, I am speaking to you from the White House.

I am disappointed about this -- but, as I told the American people a long time ago (when I became President), I follow the principle of first things first; and this war comes first. That is why I have to be right here in Washington.

We have all been overjoyed by the news from the far Pacific, eight thousand miles away. Never before in all of history has it been possible successfully to conduct such massive operations with such long lines of supply and communications.

In the Pacific Theatre, even while we are fighting a major war in Europe, our advance towards Japan is many months ahead of our own optimistic schedule.

But we must remember that any military operation conducted at such a distance is a hazardous undertaking. In any advance -- any long advance -- thousands of miles -- progress

may be interrupted by checks or set-backs. However, ultimately our advance will stop only in Tokyo itself.

Our success has been the result of planning and organization and building; it has been the result of the hardest work and the hardest fighting of which our people are capable.

On the other side of the world, in Europe, the Allied forces under General Eisenhower are pounding the Germans with relentless force.

We do not expect to have a winter lull in Europe. We expect to keep striking -- to keep the enemy on the move -- to hit him again and again -- to give him no rest -- and to drive through to the final objective -- Berlin itself.

In Italy, against the handicap of rugged mountain obstacles, and against bitter German resistance -- the Allied Armies are steadily moving forward, wearing down the German fighting strength in a slow, hard slugging match.

In winning this war there is just one sure way to guarantee the minimum of casualties -- by seeing to it that, in every action, we have overwhelming material superiority.

We have already sent to Europe -- just one of our many fronts -- a force greater than the entire American Expeditionary Force of 1918. American troops (now) are now fighting along a battle-line of three hundred miles in northern France and Germany, and about a hundred miles long in Italy.

Within ten weeks after the first landings in France last June, the Allies had landed on the Normandy beaches nearly two million men, more than two million tons of supplies, and

nearly half a million vehicles.

Think of all that vast mass of material for one operation -- think of the war factories and the ships and the planes, (and) the railroads and labor required to produce and deliver the right supplies to the right place at the right time.

Then think of the tasks that lie ahead of us -- all the long, tough miles to Berlin -- all the major landings yet to be made in the Pacific -- and you will have a conception of the magnitude of the job that remains to be done. It is still a job requiring the all-out production efforts of all of our people back here at home.

Delays in the performance of our job at home mean prolonging the war. They will mean an increase in the total price we must pay in the lives of our men.

All of our able commanders in the field know this. And so do our soldiers and sailors. And we at home must remember it and never forget it.

All Americans at home are concerned in this -- the fulfillment of an obligation to our fighting men.

And the women of America are also most profoundly concerned.

Today, women are playing a far more direct, more personal part in the war than ever before.

First, and I think rightly first, are those women in uniform who have gone into the Wacs and the Waves, (and) the Marines and the Coast Guard, the nursing services of the Army and Navy, the Red Cross -- serving in all kinds of places,

in and out of the United States -- all of them performing functions which definitely relieve men for combat work.

Then there are the millions of women who have gone into war industries. They are greatly responsible for the fact that the munitions and supplies to our men at the front have gone through to them on time.

And, finally, the women who uncomplainingly have done the job of keeping the homes going -- the homes with service flags in the windows -- service flags with blue stars or gold stars.

And we do not forget those women who have volunteered with the men in the difficult and important work of the ration boards all over the nation -- doing the job of apportioning the necessities of life equitably among their neighbors -- rich and poor.

Everyone who has made a sacrifice in this war -- and that includes pretty close to one hundred and thirty-five million Americans -- is determined that this must not happen again -- that the disastrous mistakes of the past shall not be repeated -- that this nation shall be committed to playing a leading part in a world organization which shall be strong and effective and enduring.

We have been told during this political campaign that unless the American people elect the Republican Presidential choice, the Congress will not cooperate in the peace. That (This) is a threat to build a party spite-fence between us and the peace.

I do not know who empowers these men to speak for the Congress in uttering such a threat.

Certainly the United States Senate and the House of Representatives showed no reluctance to agree with the foreign policy of this Administration when, almost unanimously last year, they passed the Connally and Fulbright Resolutions which pledged this nation to cooperate in a world organization for peace.

These are high and serious matters to those who know how greatly our victory in this war and our ability to establish a lasting peace depend on maintaining unshaken that understanding which must be the core of the success of the United Nations.

It is heartening for me to have known and to have talked with the statesmen not of the big nations only, but the statesmen of the smaller nations (as well as our larger Allies) -- men like Benes of Czechoslovakia, Mikolajczyk of Poland, Nygaardswold of Norway -- and leaders of democratic thought from Yugoslavia and Greece and Denmark and Belgium and The Netherlands -- and, of course, the great leaders of our neighbor countries in this Hemisphere.

I have spent many fruitful hours talking with men from the more remote nations -- such as Turkey, and Persia, and Arabia, and Palestine, and Abyssinia, Liberia, Siam and others -- for all of them are part and parcel of the great family of nations. It is only through an understanding acquired by years of consultation, that one can get a viewpoint of their problems and their innate yearnings for freedom.

And all of them have this in common -- that they yearn for peace and stability, and they look to the United States of America with hope and with faith.

The world is rising from the agony of the past, the world is turning with hope to the future. I think it would be a sorry and a cynical thing to betray this hope for the sake of mere political advantage, and a tragic thing to shatter it because of the failure of vision.

There have been some other aspects of this campaign which have been distasteful to all of us.

This (The) campaign has been marred by even more than the usual crop of whisperings and rumorings. Some of these get into print, in certain types of newspapers; others are traded about, secretly, in one black market after another. But I do not propose to answer in kind.

The voting record proves that the American people pay little attention to whispering campaigns. They have paid little attention to all the malignant rumors of enemy origin that (which) have flooded this country before and during this war -- and I am sure that they will treat the present whispering with the same contempt.

As we approach Election Day, more wicked charges may be made -- and probably will -- with the hope that someone or somebody will gain momentary advantage.

Hysterical, last minute accusations or sensational revelations, are trumped up in an attempt to panic the people on Election Day.

But the American people are not panicked easily.
(Pearl Harbor proved that).

This election will not be decided on a basis of malignant murmurings -- or shouts. It will be settled on the basis of the record.

We all know the record of our military achievements in this war.

And we all know the record of the tremendous production achievements of our American farmers, our American businessmen, and our American labor.

And we all know the record of our team-work with our Allies. Immediately after Pearl Harbor we formed with the other United Nations the greatest military coalition in all of world history. And we have gone steadily (gone) on from that to establish the basis for a strong and durable organization for world peace.

The America which built the greatest war machine in all history, and which kept it supplied, is an America which can look to the future with confidence and faith.

I propose the continuance of the team-work that we have demonstrated in this war.

By carrying out the plans we have made we can avoid a postwar depression -- we can provide employment for our veterans and our war workers -- we can achieve an orderly reconversion.

Above all, we can avoid another false boom like that which burst in 1929, and a dismal collapse like that of 1930 to 1933.

With continuance of our team-work, I look forward, under the leadership of this Government, to an era of expansion and production and employment -- to new industries, to (and) increased security.

I look forward to millions of new homes, fitted for decent living; to new, low-priced automobiles; new highways; new airplanes and airports; to television; and other miraculous, new inventions and discoveries, made during this war, which will be adapted to the peace-time uses of a peace-loving people.

The record that we have established in this war is one of which every American has a right to be proud -- today and for all time.

We do not want the later record to say that the great job was done in vain.

We do not want our boys to come back to an America which is headed for another war in another generation.

Our postwar job will be to work, (and) to build -- for a better America than we have ever known.

If in the next few years we can start that job right, then you and I can know that we have kept faith with our boys -- we have helped them to win a total victory.

INFORMAL REMARKS Of The President
To Patients At The Post Hospital,
Camp Amirabad, Teheran, Iran
December 2, 1943

This place is a good deal like home. I landed about ten days ago -- way over in Morocco. This is the nearest thing to the United States that I have seen yet. I wish the people back home could all see what we are doing here and how well we are doing it.

I want you boys, all of you, to remember that back at home we are thinking about you. I know you wish to get out of the hospital as soon as possible, and come back to the United States just as fast as we can lick the Nazis.

I have had conferences with Marshal Stalin and Mr. Churchill during the past four days -- very successful, too -- laying plans as far as we can to make it unnecessary for us again to have Americans in Iran -- just as long as we and our children live. I think that is worth fighting for -- even being sick for -- in Iran.

It is good to see you. I wish I could stay longer. Today it is good to see a lot of fellow Americans even in Persia.

Get well as soon as you can, and come back home.

(edited by the President)

ADDRESS Of The President
From The Rear Platform Of His Train
At Hartford, Connecticut
November 4, 1944, at Noon

Ladies and gentlemen of Hartford:

I am glad to come back here. It's rather a happy
surprise. (applause) Four years ago I was told terrible things
were being circulated all over the country. People all over the
United States were being told, if I got re-elected, that all of
the Hartford insurance companies would go broke. (laughter) So,
coming in here, I expected to see vast, empty buildings not being
used and employing no people. The insurance business was going
to go flat. And yet they are still present. And, of course, the
joke is that the insurance companies, not only of Hartford but of
other places, are better off than they ever have been before.
(applause) They are pretty good insurance companies, you know.
They subscribe to the war loans. They have been patriotic. They
just have only one unfortunate habit which they acquire every
four years -- in fact, the last few months of every four years.
They say, "If this man Roosevelt gets elected President, we will
have to go out of business!" (laughter) So it is good to see
them still going -- good to see that Hartford is not a city of
empty homes.

But, you know, that was like a lot of other campaigns.
Back in -- what was it? -- 1932, they said that grass was going
to grow in the streets. But it didn't! And Mr. Hoover wasn't

re-elected President.

(Here in this great insurance center in Hartford, I want to say a word about the campaign of fear which some Republican orators are seeking to spread among holders of insurance policies.)

(It is much like previous Republican campaigns.)

(Today, as before, they are saying that unless this Administration is removed from office, the insurance policies of the people of the United States will be worthless.)

(I have seen some of the campaign literature which they are sending out, and it is a deliberate attempt to panic the American people; but, as we all know, the American people are not easily panicked.)

(That type of campaign has been rebuked by the American people at the polls before -- and it will be again.)

(Republican leaders tried the same kind of campaign in 1932 -- when the people of the United States were told that "grass would grow in the streets of a thousand cities" unless Mr. Hoover was re-elected President.)

(Well -- he was not re-elected President. But instead of grass growing in the streets, we saw the streets hum with a revival of business and a revival of employment. And things here in Hartford are still humming today!)

(We have seen new faith and new hope and new security among our people.)

And then in 1936, some of the people all over the country -- you know the kind I mean -- (The Republican

campaign strategists tried the same trick again in 1936. At that time they tried to instill fear in the minds of the American people by saying that the social security funds of the United States were no good -- they weren't (not) safe. They even went to the extent of having some of their large financial backers put this type of scare material in the pay envelopes of millions of employees. And the interesting thing was that the employees didn't fall for it. They thought they knew better than the president of the company. And they took another chance with me.

Now, they will apparently never learn that this kind of campaign does not produce the results they look for. In fact, it usually produces the opposite result. It is going to do that again (Most certainly, they will learn that lesson) this year.
(applause)

And they (also) are making the fantastic claim this year that your Government is now engaged in some deep-dyed plot to take over the insurance business.

Well, it so happens that I have had some experience in the insurance business myself, and I know that the workers and managers in that business can't (cannot) be easily fooled by that (this) type of propaganda.

Why, the (Your) insurance policies of the United States and your savings are I think (as) safer than (as) they ever were in the whole history of the United States -- and so is the insurance business.

That was not true in 1933 when I (this Administration) took office. I don't (do not) have to recall to you the

closing banks and the shaky insurance companies of those days. In fact, I think it is safe to say that a great many of the insurance companies -- in fact, I do say so, because I know -- the insurance companies in 1933, if they had tried to liquidate their assets for the benefit of policy-holders, they would have found themselves in the "red." They would not have had enough money. And the reason is obvious -- because before 1933 -- a year or two -- year before -- the year before that -- the value of the farms and mortgages and other properties on their books had depreciated so much that by March of 1933, (that) they couldn't (could not) have been liquidated at anything like the figures at which they were carrying their assets (being carried) on their own (the) books (of the companies). That's a pretty serious charge. But the record is there. Under the last Republican administration the insurance companies were "bust."

You know what happened in (after March 4, 1933) '33. You know how quickly the action of (which) this Administration (took) resulted in increased earnings and savings and property values (of our people). And that is what this "bungling, incompetent" Administration has done for the people of the United States. (applause)

There is one thing that I have meant to say for the last two months, and haven't had a chance. It's a word about a group of our citizens that have been pretty hard hit by the war. (I want to say a word also to those people of Hartford, and of the United States, who work in offices, and schools, and banks and stores -- the people generally known as white-collar

workers. This group of citizens has, of course, been hard hit by the war.) They have not been able to earn the high level of wages that (which) have been paid in shipyards and war factories -- and yet, with amazing patience and fortitude they have continued in their essential jobs -- carrying on as best they can. And those are the white-collar workers of America.

I think that they realize, however, that in addition to being thoroughly patriotic, staying at their work, they realize that this Administration has done a pretty good job in keeping down the cost of living -- in protecting the purchasing power of their dollars in terms of rent and (the) other necessities of life. Compared with the skyrocketing cost of living in (of) the last war -- twice as much of a rise as in this war -- our (the) record in this war, on the whole has been very good. And I want you to -- as they used to say -- give a hand to the white-collar workers of the United States.

Because during the (this) war, for the first time in history, we have avoided wartime inflation. Because inflation means nothing more than a rise in the cost of things, and the white-collar workers' wages haven't gone up anything like what the wages have gone up in other professions or trades.

The lesson of the last war was clear (pretty plain) to (most of) us -- nearly all of us -- in the (this) Administration, but to many Republicans it was not plain at all. (The record is clear.)

Time and again the Republicans in the Congress voted overwhelmingly against price control, and in favor of letting

prices go skyrocketing.

So I make an assertion. The Democratic Party in this war has been the party of sound money. The Republic Party has been the party of unsound money (inflation).

If the Republicans had had their way, all of us -- farmers, white-collar workers, factory workers, housewives -- we (all) would all have had our dollars cut (down) by inflation and a higher cost of living (living costs).

This is a little bit like coming to a place that I have known very well all my life, and I almost feel, in Hartford, as if it was my own State, because from my home on the Hudson river -- the back part of my farm -- I can look into Connecticut. (applause)

(I have been to Hartford and all over the State of Connecticut many times. In fact, I live so close to your State that I have always considered myself a neighbor of the people of Connecticut.)

And I hope to come back here very often either as a private citizen, or as President of the United States. But I am (Today I feel) very confident today that when I come back during the next four years it will be as (the) President of the United States (-- and). (applause)

And in saying goodbye to you, after this very pleasing visit, I assure you that when (if) I do come back, I will still be able to wear the same size hat.

(laughter and great applause)

ADDRESS Of The President
From The Rear Platform Of His Train
At Springfield, Massachusetts
November 4, 1944
About 1.15 p.m., e.w.t.

My friends and neighbors:

I had hoped to be able to motor up here from Hartford,
but I thought to myself that the gasolene would be of more use
in a tank in Germany than in my car. (prolonged applause)

(I know that on this trip I am supposed to think and act and talk solely with the idea) Somebody tells me that there is a political campaign on.

(Well -- we all know that there is a political campaign on -- and) I think we all agree that it is probably one of the important political campaigns in our (country's) history.

But -- here in Springfield -- I cannot refrain from suggesting (dwelling on the fact) that there is also a war on -- a war which, I very (most) deeply believe, will decide the fate of our America and of the whole human race for generations (very many years) to come.

You good people here in Springfield (Massachusetts) know a great deal about (this) war. You have known about munitions for years, since long before I was born. You know (a great deal) about our preparedness (for war), and you knew about it long before Pearl Harbor.

This city -- located on (in) one of the most

beautiful rivers in the United States -- it isn't quite so refined as the Hudson -- (laughter) -- (and most historic valleys of America) -- this city has always been the (a) center of organization -- experimentation (and production) of the weapons of (our) defense against aggression.

The Springfield rifle -- the Garand rifle -- they (those) have proved themselves, in one battle after another, essential weapons of war.

And here (in Springfield, Massachusetts, tremendous) great history has been made. (And) As your President during these (recent) eventful years, I am proud to be here -- and (I am) proud to be looking into the faces -- although they are pretty far off -- (laughter and applause) -- of all of you who (have done) did so much for America, and I think for the cause of civilization.

And also, I might add, because I have known publishers for a great many years -- this city is the home of a great newspaper. And I wish that we had more papers throughout the nation like the Springfield Republican. (cheers and applause)

It has been four years -- four eventful, stirring years -- since you people gave me the last mandate in an election. And here I am, back again. (applause)

For many Americans -- for many American homes they have been years of personal heartbreak and tragedy, about which any words that I could say would be idle.

Yet, even for them -- I would (should) say, for them above all others -- there is the proud sense that America has

come greatly through a dark and dangerous time. (,that) The ship of state is sturdy and safe, and that with continued courage and wisdom we can bring it into a harbor where it will not be whipped by the storms of another war within any foreseeable period.

But -- we are going to remain prepared. (applause)
I take it as a matter of wisdom that we should not dismantle the Springfield arsenals. This time we are not going to scuttle our strength.

Four years ago many of us know that this war might come. We sought to prepare America for (against) it, often in the face of mocking gibes from those who said (that) we had nothing to fear from (the Germans) Germany or (the Japanese) Japan.

We went about the work of building the national defenses and of setting up a system of selective service. We had the stern resolve -- that (which) I expressed many times four years ago -- once here, I think -- that we meant this for defense and not for offense -- (and) that we would not send our boys to fight abroad unless we were attacked.

Well, the attack came -- treacherous, deadly attack. Our pledge was kept. We fought back when we were attacked -- obviously, rightly.

We fought back -- as our forefathers had fought. We took the offensive -- and we held it. The kind of America we inherited from our fathers is the kind of America we want to pass on to our children -- but, an America more prosperous,

more secure -- free from want and free from fear. (applause)

It was to save that America that we joined in a common war against economic breakdown and depression -- and we won that war.

It was to save that America that we joined in a common war against the Fascist ruthlessness and brutality of Germany and Japan. And we are winning that war. (applause)

Yes, it is to save that America that our sons are fighting gloriously on battlefields all over the world (-- and we will win that fight too).

You and I have been through a lot together. And we are going to go ahead together -- until we have finished this tremendous job of winning the war and building a strong enduring peace. (applause)

So, sometimes I really honestly do forget politics. Regardless of what happens (in this nation) on Election Day -- I assure you that I shall be the same man you have known all these years -- (applause) -- (the same Franklin D. Roosevelt), and I am still dedicated to the same ideals for which you and I and our sons have been fighting.

And so I am very glad to have had this all too brief opportunity to be back here -- (among you) I might almost say to chat with you.

I am glad (hope) to be back here in Springfield now, and I am (soon again -- and) coming back again. (applause) And being half from New England myself -- up the river here in Northampton -- (laughter) -- I have a hunch -- like lots of people

do in western Massachusetts and eastern New York -- I have a
hunch that I shall be back here again soon as President of the
United States. (great applause)

In any case, as your President, I want to say to you
-- thank you for coming here. I have never spoken from here
before -- I think it's a pretty good spot. (laughter) And
thanks particularly for the magnificent job you have been doing
(done) in this city (the) towards winning the (of this)
war.

(great and prolonged applause)

INFORMAL REMARKS Of The President
To The Personnel At Camp Amirabad,
Teheran, Iran,
December 2, 1943

Officers and men:

I seem at this moment to be thoroughly equipped with the weapons of war (two microphones). If you had said to me, or I had said to you three years ago, that we would meet in Iran today, we would have probably said that we were completely crazy.

I got here four days ago to meet with the Marshal of Soviet Russia and the Prime Minister of England, to try to do two things. The first was to lay military plans for cooperation between the three nations, looking toward the winning of the war just as fast as we possibly can. And I think we have made progress toward that end.

The other purpose was to talk over world conditions after the war -- to try to plan for a world for us and for our children when war would cease to be a necessity. We have made great progress in that, also.

But, of course, the first thing is to win the war, and I want to tell you that you -- all of you -- individually and collectively, are a part of that purpose. All of you who are here today, and all of you who are farther south in Iran, can remember always that you have taken a very necessary and very useful part in winning the war.

When I woke up this morning in this Camp and looked out, I said to myself, "I am back in Arizona or New Mexico."

And then, suddenly, I realized how far away from home we are.

America is proud of you, proud of what you are doing in this distant place. I wish that great numbers of our people could see this work of getting the necessary equipment and supplies through to our ally, who has had very heavy losses, but who is licking the Nazi hordes.

And so I am on my way home. I wish I could take all of you with me. The people back home know what you are doing -- how well you are doing it. They, too, are proud of you. All I can say is, "May you get back home to our Good America just as soon as you can. Goodbye and good luck."

(edited by the President)

INFORMAL REMARKS Of The President
At Wappingers Falls, N. Y.
November 6, 1944

I remember in 1910 Wappingers Falls wasn't nearly so big when I came down here. I was a candidate in that year, and spoke from the balcony of the old hotel on the other side of the Wappingers bridge. All the population turned out, but it was only just about half this size.

It is good to come back here on this little pilgrimage which I seem to take fairly often. It can't be helped. I am not immune to what I was reputed to have said four years ago. I am not doing any prophesying for the future.

It is good to see you all. I hope to be back in Dutchess County more in the next four years. It isn't such a difficult thing commuting between Washington and Dutchess County. From that you can gather that I rather think that I will have to do it a little bit longer.

I don't know what Dutchess is going to do. I haven't any idea at all. But I have got some hope that I am not going to be beaten too badly in Dutchess County. You know, hope springs eternal in the human breast. And somebody on the trip yesterday up in New England was telling me that if I decided to run often enough, I would carry Maine and Vermont. So, as I say, hope springs eternal.

You know, I have quite a number of new friends down here, people who have come in during the last ten or twenty

years. I don't know what their first names are, yet I know many of their faces. And there are people who have moved in from other countries. And one of my jobs in Washington is to look after those other countries, countries that have been dominated by the Nazis -- Italy, for instance; and there are a lot of new Italians down here. And one of my jobs in Washington is to do all I can for the people of those countries to get them out from the horrors that they have had -- starvation, and everything else -- under Nazi domination. That is one of the interesting things about being President. We are doing all we can to get back spirit into those countries, where there won't be any more world wars like this one again.

I just want to tell you that I am glad to see you, because I think people in our county feel very much that they are neighbors -- real neighbors of each other. And that is the way I feel about Wappingers Falls. I have had relatives living in here up to a few years ago. I remember Mr. Grinnell, who donated a church on the other side of the square.

Wappingers Falls reminds me of when I was a small boy and we needed a cat up in Hyde Park. And Mrs. Grinnell had a very nice one, so we rode down for it, and we brought it back to Hyde Park in a basket, with a rug over it in the bottom of the wagon. And that cat stayed with us just twelve hours and then disappeared. The cat liked Wappingers Falls so much that it came all the way back, arriving here one week later.

INFORMAL REMARKS Of The President
To A Group Of MPs At His Villa
In Cairo, Egypt
December 6, 1943

Boys, I want to say "howdy" to you.

We are in a very strange land. I have already seen about three thousand of our boys in a more distant place than this -- Teheran. Strictly speaking, to us -- and I think to them too -- it seems the end of the world. Here we are much nearer home, but even this seems too far from home. I think we all want to get back home. I know I do. I wish all of you could be going too, but we know you can't do it just yet.

My place here has been extremely well guarded, just as well as my place at Hyde Park. There is a place next door to my place up there where we have an MP school, and they look after us very well. On graduating, they are sent on to duty in distant parts of the world. When I get back home, I shall see them and tell them I saw you, and that you MPs guarded me while I was in Cairo.

Most people back home, nearly all of them, are mighty proud of what our people are doing in every part of the world. They want the war over just as much as we do, and they want to make this the last one we will have to go through as long as we and our children live. That is our great objective -- our great reasoning. This time when we clean out the enemy we are going to clean them out thoroughly, so that they can't start another war.

People back home, most of them, are working hard

every day that goes by, doing better, doing more and more, producing the things that are necessary for us to win the war. I wish that I could get into this myself, play a more active part than is possible.

These conferences here, and up in Iran, have been very satisfactory -- extremely so. Real accord has been reached. After all, the Russians, the British, the Chinese and ourselves -- collectively we represent and are fighting for nearly three-fourths of all the people in the world. That is something for us to realize. It means without doubt that even if we have to keep peace by force for a while, we are going to do it. But that does not mean that you are going to have to stay overseas all your lives.

It's good to see you.

Thank you for all that you have done for me, and for the members of my staff.

(edited by the President)

INFORMAL REMARKS Of The President
At Beacon, New York
November 6, 1944

I just wanted to stop on this tour to say "howdy do" to my neighbors here in Beacon. I have been here off and on for a very long number of years, and I am back again, still going strong.

And I hope to come back -- and I think I am going to -- for an occasional trip from Washington, D. C. for the next four years.

It has been good to see you. I know that you are doing pretty well in Beacon, from all the figures I get. You have done a good job in this war. We are going to keep on until we win it, and then we hope to get a peace which will last all the rest of our lives.

A D D R E S S Of The President
AT MALTA
December 8, 1943

Lord Gort, Officers and Men, Good People of Malta:

Nearly a year ago the Prime Minister and I were in Casablanca -- shortly after the landings by British and American troops in North Africa -- and at that time I told the Prime Minister some day we would control once more the whole of the Mediterranean, and that I would go to Malta.

For many months I have wanted, on behalf of the American people, to pay some little tribute to this Island and to all of its people -- civil and military -- who, during these years have contributed so much to democracy, not just here but all over the civilized world.

And so, at last I have been able to come. At last I have been able to see something of your historic land. I wish I could stay, but I have many things to do. May I tell you, though, that during these past three weeks the Prime Minister and I feel that we two have struck strong blows for the future of the human race.

And so, in this simple way, I am taking the opportunity to do what all the American people would like to join me in doing. I have here a little token -- a Scroll -- a Citation -- from the President of the United States, speaking in behalf of all the people of the United States.

And may I read it to you:

"In the name of the people of the United States of

America I salute the Island of Malta, its people and defenders, who, in the cause of freedom and justice and decency throughout the world, have rendered valorous service far above and beyond the call of duty.

"Under repeated fire from the skies, Malta stood, alone but unafraid in the center of the sea, one tiny bright flame in the darkness -- a beacon for the clearer days which have come.

"Malta's bright story of human fortitude and courage will be read by posterity with wonder and with gratitude through all the ages.

"What was done in this Island maintains the highest traditions of gallant men and women who from the beginning of time have lived and died to preserve civilization for all mankind.

"Date December 7, 1943.

"Signed, Franklin D. Roosevelt."

I have signed it at the bottom, and I wrote on it -- not today, but yesterday, December 7th, because that was the second anniversary of the entry into the war of the American people. We will proceed until that war is won; and more than that, we will stand shoulder to shoulder with the British Empire and our other allies in making it a victory worth while.

INFORMAL REMARKS Of The President
To Some Shipyard Workers at Newburgh, N.Y.
Before Delivery Of His Main Remarks There
On November 6, 1944

Sometimes it pays to be ahead of time, about twenty minutes earlier, and it has given me a chance to see this yard. I knew the origin of it about forty years ago, and I am glad to see the Navy coming back to Newburgh.

When I get back to Washington, I am going to try, at least, to see that there is a flow of wood up here for continuous work, as long as this war lasts, anyway ---

SHIPYARD WORKERS: (interjecting) And after the war!

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) --- and after the war.
(laughter and applause)

Lord Gort's Speech of Acceptance
For the Malta Scroll
At Malta
December 8, 1943

Mr. President, we are very sensible of the greatness of this occasion, and of the important place which the 7th of December, 1943, will occupy in our history, and of the United Nations. It is a day which Malta will never forget, and I can assure you, Sir, that this Citation, presented in person by the President of the United States of America, has moved us very deeply.

May I be permitted, on behalf of the Armed Forces of the Crown and Peoples of Malta to thank you, Mr. President, most respectfully, most sincerely and most gratefully for the sentiments which inspired you to undertake this special journey.

Malta is, perhaps not unjustifiably, proud that she has been able to play her part in the Mediterranean war, but the language in which the Citation is couched and, if I may be permitted to say so, Mr. President, the moving phrases which you have so generously used in making this presentation impress upon us how highly you rate such services as our Island Fortress has been able to render to the cause of the United Nations.

No one can be asked to do more in war than to fulfill his or her duty -- no one can do less; and that you, Sir, and the citizens of the United States of America should feel that the armed forces and people of these Islands have not failed the United Nations is in itself a full reward.

Mr. President, the memory of the great honor which you have conferred upon this Fortress today will always be cherished by each one of us, and I can assure you, Sir, that this Citation will be a treasured and highly prized addition to the historic archives of Malta. But I also believe that the full purport of its message will not be realized unless generations as yet unborn are constantly reminded of the common sacrifices of the United States of America and the British Empire in this the second world war.

I therefore have it in mind, Mr. President, with your consent to reproduce the Citation in bronze, and to place it in the Palace Square in Valletta, where it will stand in all weathers as a permanent monument to a great and unique occasion.

INFORMAL REMARKS OF The President
At Newburgh, N. Y.
November 6, 1944

I am glad to be back here in Newburgh. I am glad to come back in the same old automobile along the same old streets. I have just had a glimpse of one of your shipyards, and I am very happy to know that the Navy has come back to Newburgh, and I hope it will stay here.

I don't want to disappoint the fifty or a hundred newspaper men who are with us. They wanted me to come down here and say all kinds of things about your Congressman and my Congressman. I am not going to disappoint them. I am going to talk to you about the legislature of the State of New York. The legislature at the last session redistricted the Congressional Districts, and while you and I used to have the same Congressman, we will not have the same Congressman after the first of January.

And that is why I want to give a little hand to the legislature.

In Dutchess, your neighbors have had the same Congressman for a great many years, almost back to the Dark Ages. And we are going to have a new Congressman hooked up with Columbia and Ulster counties on the first of January. And that is why I am rather pleased with what the legislature did this year.

However, we don't want to call anybody any names.

So good luck to you. And it's good to be here -- glad to be back in the old way. I hope Orange county is going to

do all right tomorrow.

Thanks.

INFORMAL REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
At Kingston, N. Y.
November 6, 1944

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Mayor: Your neighbor from across the river is mighty glad to be back here after four years. It has become a sort of a four-year custom by now. But it is rather a good custom for me to come to Kingston, and I always like it. I am happy, too, that now my county across the river is going to have a new Congressman. I told them in Newburgh that I was very glad that the legislature had taken my Congressman away from me, and that Hamilton Fish won't be my Congressman after the first of January.

You know, I go back into the history of this city quite a long way, because I had an ancestor who came up from New York to a place called Esopus about 1660, which is quite a way back. And he came up here just in time to take a musket and help to repel Indians that tried to kill all the original settlers. He was a member of what they called the militia in those days.

And that, perhaps, is why I inherited a good deal of love for the armed forces of the United States, who have been carrying on this war so magnificently.

The war is not in Kingston and Hyde Park physically. It is across the oceans. But it means the preservation of our homes in Hyde Park and in Kingston. The people are beginning to realize more and more that we are fighting for the

defense of America. I think we are doing a pretty good job of it.

It takes me longer to go from Hyde Park to Kingston because you have taken off the ferry. I was complaining to the Mayor about it, and I think probably the only other thing to do is to build a bridge.

Well, it has been good to see you on this occasion. I think it is a bigger crowd than it has ever been before. And I hope that in the next four years when I come back for an occasional week end at home from Washington that I will be able to come over here and see you all.

In the meantime, I have heard of the great things you are doing in the war. Your Mayor was telling me the wonderful figures, the percentage of your boys that are in the armed forces. And I want to congratulate you also on what you are doing for the Navy in the two yards, one of which I happened to start twenty-five years ago.

So, keep up the good work, and good luck to you all.

Goodbye.

ADDRESS Of The President
From Hyde Park, New York
Broadcast Nationally
November 6, 1944
Around 10.45 p.m., e.w.t.

Ladies and gentlemen:

As we sit quietly this evening in our home at Hyde Park, our thoughts, like those of millions of other Americans, are most deeply concerned with the well-being of all our American fighting men. We are thinking of our own sons -- all of them far away from home -- and of our neighbors' sons and the sons of our friends.

That concern rises above all others in this critical period of our national life.

In great contrast to the quiet which is ours here in America, in our own secure homes, is the knowledge that most of those fighting men of ours have no quiet times, and little leisure at this hour to reflect on the significance of our American Election Day, tomorrow.

Some are standing at battle stations on shipboard, tense in the excitement of action; some lie in wet foxholes, or trudge doggedly through the sticky mud, firing as they go. Still others are high above the earth, fighting Messerschmidts or Zeros.

All of them are giving everything they have got to defeat our enemies, and uppermost in all their minds is the

one thought: to win the war as soon as possible, so that they may return to the quiet and peace of their own homes.

But -- in the midst of fighting -- in the presence of our brutal enemies -- our soldiers and sailors and airmen will not forget Election Day back home.

Millions of these men have already cast their own ballots, and they will be wondering about the outcome of the election, and what it will mean to them in their future lives. And sooner or later all of them will be asking questions as to whether the folks back home looked after their interests, their liberties, their government, their country -- while they themselves were off at war.

Our boys are counting on us to show the rest of the world that our kind of government is the best in the world -- and the kind we propose to keep! And so, when our people turn out at the polls tomorrow -- and I sincerely hope that it will be fifty million strong -- the world will respect our democracy, and the grand old Stars and Stripes will wave more proudly than ever before.

These brave fighters of ours have taken on enemies on both sides of the (our) world, enemies who were nurtured since childhood in militarism. These boys of ours, wisely led, and using the matchless weapons which you here at home have sent to them, have outfought those ruthless enemies, outfought them on the land, outfought them on the sea, outfought them in the skies. They are winning the victory for all of us. Many are giving life itself.

And it is for us to make certain that we win for them -- the living and the dead -- a lasting peace.

There is nothing adequate which anyone in any place can say to those who are entitled to display the gold star in their windows. But each night as the people of the United States rest in their homes which have been safe from violence during all these years of the most violent war in all history -- I am sure (that) all of them silently give thought to their feelings of deepest (deep) gratitude to the brave departed and to their families for the immeasurable sacrifice that they have made for the cause of decency and freedom and civilization.

I do not want to talk to you tonight of partisan politics. The political battle is finished. Our task now is to face the future as a militant and a united people -- united here at home as well as on the battlefronts.

Twice in twenty-five years our people have had to put on a brave, smiling front as they have suffered the anxiety and the agony of war.

And no one wants to endure that suffering again.

When we think of the speed and long distance possibilities of air travel of all kinds to the remotest corners of the earth, we must consider the devastation wrought on the people of England, for example, by the new long-range bombs. Another war would be bound to bring even more devilish and powerful instruments of destruction to wipe out civilian populations. No coastal defenses, however strong, could prevent these silent missiles of death, fired perhaps from planes or ships at sea,

from crashing deep within the United States itself.

This time, THIS time, we must be certain that the peace-loving nations of the world band together in determination to outlaw and to prevent war.

Tomorrow, you the people of the United States, again vote as free men and women, with full freedom of choice -- with no secret police watching over your shoulders. And for generations to come Americans will continue to prove their faith in free elections.

But when the ballots are cast, your responsibilities do not cease. The public servants you elect cannot fulfill their trust unless you, the people, watch and advise them, raise your voices in protest when you believe your public servants to be wrong, back them up when you believe them to be right.

But not for one single moment can you now or later forget the all important goals for which we are aiming -- to win the war and unite our fighting men with their families at the earliest moment, to see that all have honorable jobs; and to create a world peace organization which will prevent this disaster -- or one like it -- from ever coming upon us again.

To achieve these goals we need strength and wisdom which is greater than is bequeathed to mere mortals. We need Divine help and guidance. We people of America have ever had a deep well of religious strength, far back to the days of the Pilgrim Fathers.

And so, on this thoughtful evening (eve), I believe that you will find it fitting that I read a prayer sent to

me not long ago:

"Almighty God, of Whose righteous will all things are and were created, Thou hast gathered our people out of many lands and races into a great nation.

"We commend to Thy over-ruling providence the men and women of our forces by sea, by land and in the air; beseeching Thee to take into Thine own hands both them and the cause they serve.

"Be Thou their strength when they are set in the midst of so many and great dangers. And grant that, whether by life or by death, they may win for the whole world the fruits of their sacrifice and a just peace.

"Guide, we beseech Thee, the nations of the world, into the way of justice and truth, and establish among them that peace which is the reward of righteousness.

"Make the whole people of this land equal to our high trust, reverent in the use of freedom, just in the exercise of power, generous in the protection of weakness.

"Enable us to guard for the least among us the freedom we covet for ourselves; make us ill content with the inequalities of opportunity which still prevail among us. Preserve our union against all the divisions of race and class which threaten it.

"And now, may the blessing of God Almighty rest upon the (this) whole land; may He give us light to guide us, courage to support us, charity to unite us, now and forever more.

Amen."

INFORMAL REMARKS OF The President

To The Torchlight Paraders On Election Night

On The Porch Of His Residence At Hyde Park, N. Y.

November 7, 1944, about 11.15 p.m., e.w.t.

I see some youngsters up a tree -- (laughter) -- which reminds me of earlier days, when I wanted to get away from the discipline of the family, and I climbed that very tree up where that highest youngster is now, and I disappeared and I couldn't be found. And they got everybody -- I think they got the fire department up trying to find me. And I realized that I was causing a good deal of commotion, so I said "Yoo-hoo," or something like that, and I came down.

Well, Elmer, of course, is a very young man, because I remember my first torchlight parade right here in 1892 -- Cleveland's election. And I was asleep, or supposedly asleep, right up in this window, a little room at the head of the stairs; and I was listening, and I didn't know what was the matter -- a queer light outside the window, with people coming up on farm wagons -- before the days of the automobile. It was Hyde Park -- a large part of it -- coming down here to have a Democratic celebration.

And I got up and appeared down here in an old-fashioned nightgown of some kind, on this porch, and I wrapped up in an old Buffalo robe that came out of a wagon. And I had a perfectly grand evening.

Now if Elmer were old enough, he would know about that. But he has done pretty well himself. He has been an

awfully good supervisor for this town, and we are all mighty proud of our neighbor Elmer Van Wagner.

And then there are all kinds of people that I remember, which only very old people like myself can remember. And I remember, once upon a time, I was fascinated by old Dan Barrett's brewery. And Dan, after meeting the train, which came in about twice a day in those days, used to bring people down here in his old bus, and I would go out there and I would talk to Dan Barrett by the hour. Now we have got a young Dan Barrett and he is down here on this place, here on the right.

The reports that are coming in are not so bad -- (laughter) -- but I can't concede anything. Oh, I couldn't concede anything -- much too early. I can't make any statement at all. The State of New York as a whole seems to be going pretty well -- pretty well, but it's much too early to say anything. We won't get the final returns on these so called pivotal States for, I suppose, another hour. And they are working out all right, so far, and it looks as if I will have to come back here on a train from Washington for four more years. (applause)

And it's worth while still, and always will be, to leave Washington on a Friday night and get here Saturday morning, and go back to Washington on a Sunday night, just for two days up here. It will always be worth it.

And so I am glad to be here on this election day again -- I might say again and again and again! (laughter) But I'll be perfectly happy to come back here for good, as you all know. I don't have to tell you that.

It has been grand to see you. Thanks ever so much for coming down, but I have been on the telephone all evening to almost every part of the country. I have got a ticker in there, and I get the returns on that. I am trying to keep in touch with all these people -- calling up a few people.

One -- one person I haven't called up -- I am waiting and holding my breath -- and that is a lady over in our neighboring State, in Connecticut. (laughter) She is running against another lady over in the adjoining State, and my friend seems to be winning -- (more laughter) -- she is ahead at the present time. And if she can only hold on to that lead, and they don't hold back the returns too long, we will have a new Congresswoman down Bridgeport way. And so we have real hope, which will be rather excellent for our own feelings -- and I think if they prove true, a mighty good thing for this country. And that's a rough thing to say -- about the other lady. (laughter)

I haven't had any word about the present Congressman from this District, but as I remarked yesterday somewhere, when I was taking a drive around, there is more than one way of getting rid of a Congressman. (laughter) You have known about it being done by redistricting the State and putting the Congressman over in another county, but in the last returns that I have just got, he is doing very well in Rockland county -- I mean his opponent Bennett. Bennett is also doing pretty well in Orange, and so there is a real possibility of our -- of our having a new Congressman in the lower districts. Of course, we are in

a different district this time -- Thank God! (laughter)

So it has been good to see you, and I will have to go on back and do some more telephoning.

All right. Thanks.

(applause)

(not given to the press)

INFORMAL REMARKS Of The President
On Leaving the U.S.S. IOWA
December 16, 1943

Captain McCrea, Officers and Men of the IOWA:

I had wanted to say a few words to you on the trip east, but I couldn't do it properly because so many of you were mere, miserable pollywogs. Now, I understand that I can talk to you as the Chief Shellback of them all.

I have had a wonderful cruise on the IOWA, one I shall never forget. I think that all my staff have behaved themselves pretty well, with one or two lapses. When we came on board from that little French destroyer, I was horrified to note that Major General Watson and Mr. Hopkins came over the rail on all-fours. However, landlubbers like that do have lapses. Outside of that, all the Army and Navy and civilians have been wonderfully taken care of, and I am impressed with two facts -- the first is that you had a happy lot of visitors, fellow shipmates.

Secondly, from all I have seen and all I have heard, the IOWA is a "happy ship," and having served with the Navy for many years, I know -- and you know -- what that means. It is part and parcel of what we are trying to do, to make every ship happy and efficient.

One of the reasons I went abroad, as you know, was to try by conversations with other nations, to see that this war that we are all engaged in shall not happen again. We have an idea -- all of us, I think -- that hereafter we have

got to eliminate from the human race nations like Germany and Japan, eliminate them from the possibility of ruining the lives of a whole lot of other nations. And in these talks in North Africa, Egypt, and Persia, with the Chinese, the Russians, Turks and others, we made real progress.

Obviously, it will be necessary, when we win the war, to make the possibility of a future upsetting of our civilization an impossible thing. I don't say forever. None of us can look that far ahead. But I do say as long as any Americans and others who are alive today are still alive. That objective is worth fighting for. It is a part of democracy which exists in most of the world.

In upper Teheran, where the Prime Minister, Marshal Stalin and I met, in one sense it followed that as heads of governments we were representing between two-thirds and three-quarters of the entire population of the world. We all had the same fundamental aims: stopping what has been going on in these past four years. And that is why I believe from the viewpoint of people -- just plain people -- this trip has been worth while.

We are all engaged in a common struggle. We are making real progress. Take what has happened in the past two years. From Pearl Harbor, from being on the defensive -- very definitely so -- two years ago, from being in the process of building things up to a greater strength a year ago, to where we are today, when we have the initiative in every part of the world. The other fellows may not be on the run backwards

-- yet. That will be the next stage, and then all of us in the service of the country will have a better chance to go home, even if we have to come home to very cold weather like this. I think after what you have seen of Bahia and Freetown and Dakar, that you will agree with me that in the long run, year in and year out, this American climate is better than any other.

And now I have to leave you for the U.S.S. POTOMAC. When I came out on deck quite a while ago, and saw her about a half-mile away, I looked and decided how she had shrunk since I had been on the IOWA.

And so goodbye for a while. I hope that I will have another cruise on this ship. Meanwhile, good luck, and remember that I am with you in spirit, each and every one of you.

INFORMAL REMARKS Of The President
At Union Station Plaza, Washington, D. C.
November 10, 1944
About 9.10 a.m., e.w.t.

Mr. President of the Commission, and to the other Commissioners:

This is a very wonderful welcome home that you have given me on this rather rainy morning, a welcome home that I shall always remember. And when I say a welcome home, I hope that some of the scribes in the papers won't intimate that I expect to make Washington my permanent residence for the rest of my life.

In all these years -- eight years in the Navy Department, and twelve years now, and four to come -- it has had a great effect on Washington. Today it is very different from the Washington that I first came to in the first administration of President Cleveland. I go back -- Russ Young and I go back, I think, to Cleveland's first administration, because we are the same age.

So I want to tell you how glad I am to be here and say one word to you -- especially the Government workers -- for all that you are doing to win this war. And when I say especially the Government workers, I don't overlook all the other people in the city who make it possible for them to come here and live here and work here.

So, thanks very much.

ADDRESS Of The President

On The Opening Of The Sixth War Loan Drive
Broadcast Nationally From The White House
November 19, 1944, at 10.00 p.m., e.w.t.

Ladies and gentlemen:

The Sixth War Loan Drive that starts (starting) to-morrow is something more than just a money raising affair.

We cannot all fight the enemy face-to-face. We cannot all produce the weapons and the raw materials that are so vital to our armed forces.

But there is one front on which all of us -- every man, woman and child -- can serve, and serve for the duration. We can all practice self-denial. We can all sacrifice some of our comforts for (to) the needs of the men in service; and yes, even some of our needs to their comforts.

The war in the present month of November alone will cost us seven and one-half billions of dollars. That is two hundred and fifty millions a day. That is why it is so important that we end the war as soon as we can.

That is so important why every War Bond that you buy is so important.

The war is not over -- no, not by many a costly battle. While we have every reason to be proud of what has been done -- even optimistic about the ultimate outcome -- we have no reason to be complacent about the tough road that (which) still lies ahead of us.

We have just been through a wartime election, demonstrating to the people of the world the deep roots of our democratic faith.

This (The) Sixth War Loan, I am confident, will be a further example of democracy in action in a world at war.

There is an old saying about sticking to the plow until you have reached the end of the furrow. Every rule of common sense and patriotic thought makes that maxim applicable to our conduct in this war.

And so in the name of our wounded and sick, in the name of our dead, and in the name of future generations of Americans, I ask you to plow out this furrow to a successful and victorious end.

ADDRESS Of The President

On Christmas Eve

From Hyde Park, New York

December 24, 1944, 5.15 p.m., e.w.t.

A World-Wide Broadcast

It is not easy to say "Merry Christmas" to you, my fellow Americans, in this time of destructive war. Nor can I say "Merry Christmas" (one) lightly (say "Merry Christmas") tonight to our armed forces at their battle stations all over the world -- or to our Allies who fight by their side.

Here, at home, we will celebrate this Christmas Day in our traditional American way -- because of its deep spiritual meaning to us; because the teachings of Christ are fundamental in our lives; and because we want our youngest generation to grow up knowing the significance of this tradition and the story of the coming of the immortal Prince of Peace and Good-Will. But, in perhaps every home in the United States, sad and anxious thoughts will be continually with the millions of our loved ones who are suffering hardships and misery, and who are risking their very lives to preserve for us and for all mankind the fruits of His teachings and the foundations of civilization itself.

The Christmas spirit lives tonight in the bitter cold of the front lines in Europe and in the heat of the jungles and swamps of Burma and the Pacific islands. Even the roar of our bombers and fighters in the air and the guns of our ships at sea will not drown out the messages of Christmas which come

to the hearts of our fighting men. The thoughts of these men tonight will turn to us here at home around our Christmas trees, surrounded by our children and grandchildren and their Christmas stockings and gifts — just as our own thoughts go out to them, tonight and every night, in their distant places.

We all know how anxious they are to be home with us, and they know how anxious we are to have them -- and how determined every one of us is to make their day of home-coming as early as possible. And -- above all -- they know the determination of all right thinking people and nations, that Christmases such as those that we have known in these years of world tragedy shall not come again to beset the souls of the children of God.

This generation has passed through many recent years of deep darkness, watching the spread of the poison of Hitlerism and fascism in Europe -- the growth of imperialism and militarism in Japan -- and the final clash of war all over the world. Then came the dark days of the fall of France, and the ruthless bombing of England, and the desperate battle of the Atlantic, and of Pearl Harbor and Corregidor and Singapore.

Since then the prayers of good men and women and children the world over have been answered. The tide of battle has turned, slowly but inexorably, against those who sought to destroy civilization.

And so, on this Christmas day, we cannot yet say when our victory will come. Our enemies still fight fanatically. They still have reserves of men and military power. But,

they themselves know that they and their evil works are doomed. We may hasten the day of their (that) doom if we here at home continue to do our full share.

And we pray that that day may come soon. We pray that until then, God will protect our gallant men and women in the uniforms of the United Nations -- that He will receive into His infinite grace those who make their supreme sacrifice in the cause of righteousness, in the cause of (and) love of Him and His teachings.

We pray that with victory will come a new day of peace on earth in which all the nations of the earth will join together for all time. That is the spirit of Christmas, the holy day. May that spirit live and grow throughout the world in all the years to come.

ADDRESS Of The President

In Behalf Of The Annual Red Cross War Fund Drive

From The White House

March 20, 1945, at 9.00 p.m., e.w.t.

Broadcast Nationally

Ladies and gentlemen:

There was a time when you and I gave to the Red Cross largely through (in) a feeling of aid to others. That was a giving in humanity and in decency. This year we give as well in necessity -- necessity for our own. The need never was greater. And it will not soon be less.

As your President I have never indulged myself or the American people in the pastime of predicting the advent of peace. I do not know when victory will come. I do know it will come, and I do know that tonight there are over seven and a half million Americans overseas or fighting afloat in this great war. I know that there are nearly seventy thousand Americans in (enemy) prison camps of the enemy. And I know that there is nothing unpredictable about their needs.

We can be proud of all that the Red Cross has meant to them. From personal observation abroad, I can testify to the usefulness of the Red Cross in the battle zones.

It has reached through the barbed wire of enemy prison camps with millions of parcels of food, and clothing, and medical supplies.

It has collected for the Army and Navy vast quantities of precious blood plasma, which has saved thousands of

American lives.

It has supplied refreshment and (,) entertainment and good cheer. It has served as a link between the fighting man and his loved ones here at home.

Never, in the annals of voluntary service to humanity, has an agency performed so many tasks so well.

And this is no call for charity. This is our chance to serve those who serve us.

As their Commander-in-Chief I call upon you, my fellow Americans, to over-subscribe the 1945 Red Cross War Fund. We cannot give too much to those who have given us the heroic hazard of their lives.

TOAST Of The President
At The State Dinner For
The Governor General of Canada, the Earl of Athlone
And Princess Alice
In The State Dining Room Of The White House
March 23, 1945 -- about 9.15 p.m., e.w.t.
(With Reply Of The Earl Of Athlone)

THE PRESIDENT: A few years ago, a young couple came to this table, and we had a little dinner for them. And we found them not only very delightful people, but they gave us the feeling that they were old friends.

And tonight I cannot do it for a second time to his face. I will have to ask his uncle's representative -- his uncle and his aunt. This gives us all a wonderful opportunity to do something that we have in our hearts very much, and that is to drink to the health of the King.

(the Toast was drunk)

THE EARL OF ATHLONE: Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen:

May I, before losing your Toast, just say a few words of thanks, to you Mr. President particularly.

It is through you that my wife and I have been able to make some very delightful visits to the United States, and also, of course, to Mrs. Roosevelt. Thanks to you, Mr. President, we have been able to visit the wonderful place called Fairbanks in Alaska, and also Seattle and Portland on the

borders of Canada. On that occasion, we were able to visit your great naval base at Bremerton, which I confess took my breath entirely away.

Then, of course, my wife and I had the great pleasure of entertaining you at Quebec on two occasions. On the second occasion you brought Mrs. Roosevelt with you. I do wish you could have stayed a little longer. Of course, those historic occasions will never be obliterated from our minds.

Now, Mr. President, we have come to the climax and the most exciting moment of our lives: in visiting Washington. May I be allowed to say this, that I hope when poor old London comes to be rebuilt -- poor old London, still standing but sorely stricken -- that if you do not send an architect over there, that our architects should come over here to Washington, and see whether they cannot implant in London something of the touch of beautiful Washington.

When my wife and I return to Canada, we shall take away with us recollections of Mount Vernon, your Memorials to great people, especially the Memorial to one unknown but not forgotten, and also the beautiful blooms, or shall we say the shrubs and the trees that are coming out into bloom, some of them coming from the North.

We shall also remember your very kind hospitality, and the hospitality of your officials, and the officers of the various Services with whom we have had the pleasure of being entertained, at your invitation, on so many occasions.

We hope that some day we shall meet you and Mrs.

Roosevelt in the tiny little Isle, which is no great distance by air from the United States of America.

I give you a Toast to the President of the United States.

(the Toast was drunk)

(copy for the Governor General)